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# WESTERN AMERICANA

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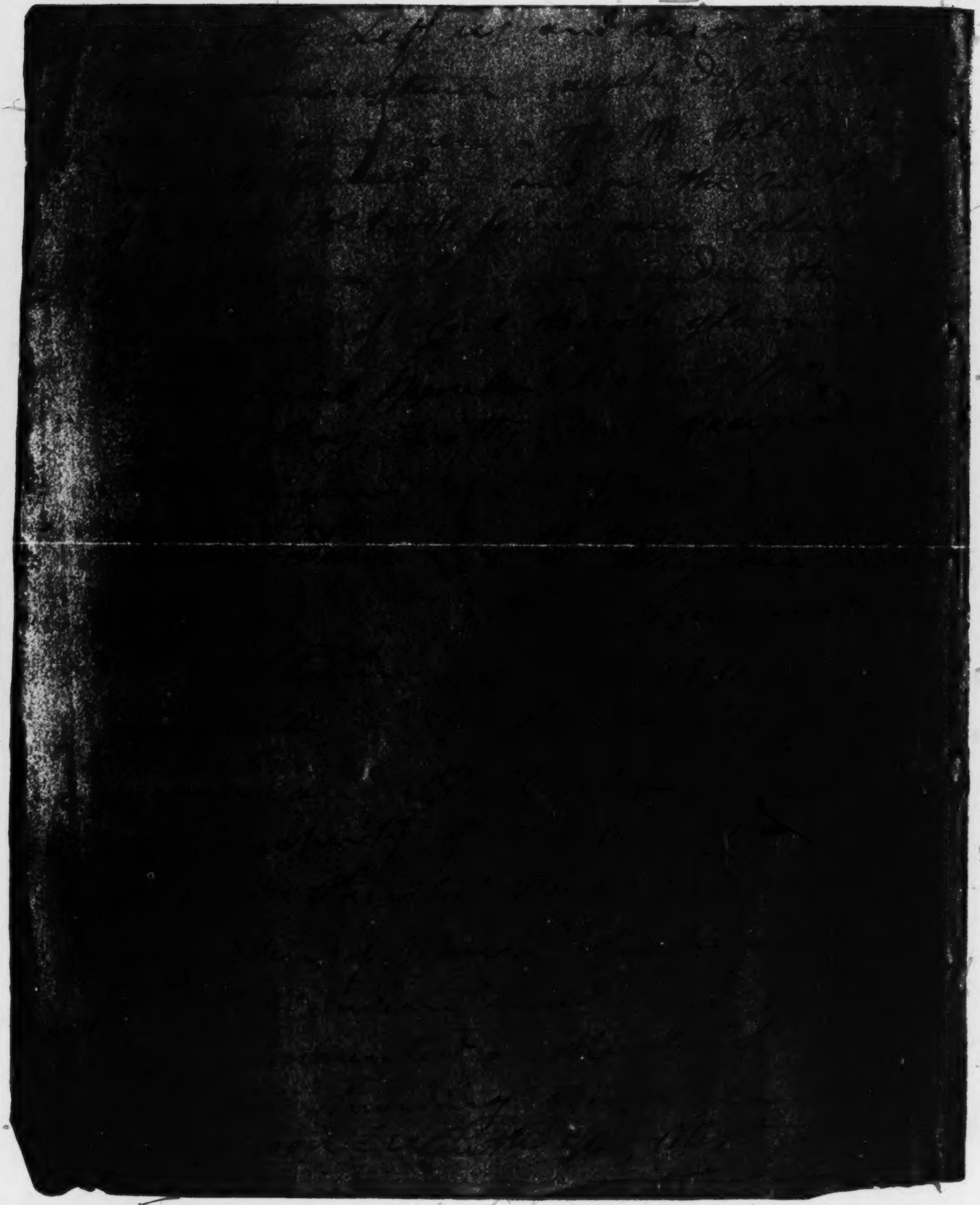

REPRODUCTION OF A PAGE OF JACOB FOWLER'S ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT. THE ABOVE INCLUDES FACSIMILE OF THE ONLY AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURE OF MAJOR FOWLER, THE NAMES OF HIS PARTY, ETC., ETC.

# THE JOURNAL
OF
# JACOB FOWLER

*NARRATING AN ADVENTURE*
FROM
ARKANSAS THROUGH THE INDIAN TERRITORY,
OKLAHOMA, KANSAS, COLORADO,
AND NEW MEXICO,
TO THE
SOURCES OF RIO GRANDE DEL NORTE,
1821-22

EDITED, WITH NOTES
BY
ELLIOTT COUES

NEW YORK
FRANCIS P. HARPER
1898

F592
F78

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FRANCIS P. HARPER

Edition Limited
to 950 Copies.

No. 540

DEDICATED

TO

REUBEN T. DURRETT, A. M., LL. D.,

NESTOR OF KENTUCKY HISTORIANS

AND

PRESIDENT OF THE FILSON CLUB,

IN ADMIRATION OF HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER AND IN

REMEMBRANCE OF PLEASANT HOURS PASSED

IN HIS HOSPITABLE HOME.

# INTRODUCTION.

Jacob Fowler is an unknown author whose work has never before been heralded beyond the private circles of his friends, relatives, and descendants. The editor of his Journal has therefore a man as well as a book to introduce to the public. Being responsible for the appearance of the latter in print, he will presently say something on that score. But first let us hear from Colonel R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Ky., the owner of the manuscript now published, who will speak for its author:

Louisville, Ky., *Dec.* 4, 1897.

Dr. Elliott Coues, *Washington, D. C.*

I have your letter, My Dear Doctor, in which you request me to tell what I may know about the Journal you found among my manuscripts when you were my guest last year, and which you have determined to include in your admirable series of Western Americana. I am sorry to have to say that I do not know much of this manuscript or its author. The little I know, however, will be cheerfully contributed to an undertaking which is to place a Kentucky manuscript from my collection among the publications which, under your editorship, have added so much to our literature of discovery, exploration, and adventure.

The author of this Journal is Major Jacob Fowler. His name is not attached to the Journal, and does not appear on any of its pages in such a way as to indicate authorship. Yet it is well understood among his numerous descendants now living in Kentucky and other States that he is the author. I obtained the manuscript some years ago from Mrs. Ida Symmes Coates, daughter of the late Americus Symmes, now residing at her country seat near Louisville. Mrs. Coates is a great-granddaughter, on the maternal side, of Jacob Fowler. The manuscript descended to her in a direct line from her mother, Frances Scott, who was a granddaughter of Jacob Fowler, and who had obtained it in the same way from her mother, Abigail Fowler, the only daughter of Jacob Fowler. The manuscript has thus come down to us in a direct line, and is the unquestionable work of Major Jacob Fowler.

When Mrs. Coates gave me this manuscript she remarked that although her great-grandsire was a very well educated man, he wrote a very bad hand, and that I might be puzzled now and then in getting at his meaning. I found this to be true, and would not like to say that I succeeded in interpreting all of his modern hieroglyphics. When I placed the manuscript in your hands I felt sure that Lewis and Clark, Pike, and Henry and Thompson, as well as other explorers, had made you so familiar with the country gone over by Major Fowler, that you could with comparative ease master its chirographic difficulties. In this I was right; but I do remember how, with your constantly replenished pipe, you sat in my library, and smoked and puzzled over this manuscript. A distinguished host once assured his guest that the more raw turnips he ate, the more water he would drink, and that the more water he drank, the more turnips he would eat. With a touch of similarity, you smoked and read, and read and smoked, with manifest indications of successful or unsuccessful interpretations of the text, as your puffs were rapid or slow. It might be hard to say whether you smoked most or read most, but you finally mastered the manuscript; and whether you did so by smoking out the uninterpretable hieroglyphics, or got rid of them by other means, does not matter. While a cloud of smoke may not seem to be the best means of clearing up the obscurity of a manuscript, it is the known result here considered, if not the philosophy of its action.

Pioneers by the name of Fowler were early in Kentucky, and some of them were the owners of large bodies of land. In 1783, Alexander Fowler entered 10,000 acres on the Little Kentucky river; and in 1784, John Fowler, who was the first member of Congress from Ashland District, located 1536 acres on Brush creek and on the dividing ridge between Pitman's creek and Robertson's run. I do not know whether Jacob Fowler was of the family of these Fowlers, but he was certainly akin to them in so far as the love and ownership of lands were concerned. Besides other possessions, he owned 2000 acres of the site of the present city of Covington, Kenton Co., Ky. He was one of the pioneers of what afterward became the county of Kenton, before the city of Covington was incorporated. A census of the male inhabitants of this locality shows him to have been residing here in 1810, with his sons Edward and Benjamin. Had he been permitted to retain these Covington lands, he might have become a multi-millionaire. His kind heart, however, led him to become the indorser of those who made a clean sweep of his fine estate. A large double brick dwelling house, handsomely furnished, in the midst of ample grounds, planted with trees and shrubbery, flowers and blue-grass, went with his lands to pay the debts of others. Had he written his name as indorser as illegibly as he wrote the names of others in his Journal, there might have been some ground for what lawyers call the plea of *non est factum*, to clear him of liability. But such was not the case, and his security for others swept away his large estate.

Major Fowler was born in New York, in 1765, and came to Kentucky in early life, a fine specimen of physical manhood, fully equipped for the office and duties of a surveyor. His surveying instruments were the best of their day, and elicited no little envy from those who used the common Jacob's staff and compass, and chain of the times. He had the reputation of being an accomplished surveyor, and did much in this line for the United States government. His surveying extended to the great plains and mountains of the far West, before civilization had reached these distant wilds. He was there when wild animals and wilder savages were the only tenants of the wilderness.

Major Fowler married the widow Esther Sanders, *née* de Vie, of Newport, Ky. She was of French descent, and a lady of great beauty and accomplishments. She made his home one of happiness and hospitality. She sometimes accompanied him on his surveying expeditions and bore domestic charms to the tent in which they lived, as she did to the palatial mansion at home. She was a woman of fine business capacity, who, when her husband was not at home, attended to his affairs, and especially to his farm in the suburbs of Covington. Here fine stock and abundant crops owed much to her constant care and supervision. The grapes that grew on the place were made into wine and the apples into cider, in accordance with the knowledge she had inherited from her French ancestors. Her great-grandchildren of to-day tell of the life of the camp, when she was with her husband in his surveying expeditions. The tent floor was nicely carpeted; a comfortable bed invited repose after the toil of the day; dainty china, bright cut glass, and shining silverware, handsome enough to be preserved as family heirlooms by their descendants, were used on the camp table. It was something of Parisian life in the dreary wilderness.

Major Fowler died in Covington in the year 1850. His life as a surveyor and explorer in the West subjected him to many hardships, but a constitution naturally vigorous was preserved with care until he reached his eighty-sixth year. He has numerous descendants in Kentucky, Ohio, and other States, some of whom occupy high social positions. Mrs. Coates, to whom I am indebted for this manuscript Journal, is, in the paternal line, the granddaughter of Captain John Cleve Symmes, author of the " Theory of Concentric Spheres," 12mo, Cincinnati, 1826, and great-grandniece of Hon. John Cleve Symmes, a member of Congress from New Jersey, who purchased of the United States government that vast body of land in the State of Ohio, lying on the north bank of the Ohio river between the two Miamis. With the knowledge and consent of her father, the late Americus Symmes, she gave me the manuscript in the belief that I would make some good use of it. After thinking for a time that I would place it among the Filson Club Publications, I changed my mind and turned it over to you to be published. I think this is the best use I could have made of the manuscript, and I shall now wait with impatience until I see your work published in the best style of Francis P. Harper, and read your ample notes and comments, which I doubt not will be after the inimitable manner of your Lewis and Clark, your Pike, and your Henry and Thompson.

Truly,

R. T. DURRETT.

The MS. which I received from Colonel Durrett is entitled: "memorandom of the voige by land from fort Smith to the Rockey mountains"—and is the most like those mountains of any I have ever undertaken to overcome. My eminent friend does not exaggerate the difficulty of deciphering the characters which he aptly styles "hieroglyphics," and which have hitherto kept this writing a sealed book. The text begins verso of the title, and ostensibly runs pp. 1–264, but pagination is once skipped and twice duplicated. The folios may be called of square note-paper size, nearly that of a small quarto book—8 × 6½ inches for pp. 1–180, but larger, nearly 9 × 7, for the rest. The ragged edges make exact measurements impracticable, Father Time's paper-mill having turned out a deckel-edged product, so fashionable nowadays. The sheets, of four pages or two folios each, are gathered in 16-page packets, the outsides of which are now much soiled—indeed, the rough, unruled surfaces are all darkened with the dust of three-quarters of a century, and the ink is faded to match the same subdued monotone, except in places where it recedes to the vanishing point. The writing is upon both sides of the paper; and the whole effect, if it could be facsimiled, would be a bibliomaniac's dream of delight.

At first sight, this manuscript appears illegible; no one can read it off-hand. Nevertheless, this writing proves readable upon sufficient study of the alphabetic characters which Fowler invented to suit himself, like that classic old Theban Cadmus, or his modern imitator, Cherokee Sequoiah. I managed to master it under the agreeable circumstances of my visit to Louisville, to which my host on that occasion has so pleasantly alluded in the letter printed above; and after that my secretary also proved herself equal to the task when she took the matter in hand to copy for the press. There are hardly a dozen words in which doubt attaches to a single letter, and probably not half as many have proven altogether illegible.

Fowler wrote a large sprawling hand, as may be judged by the fact that only 174 of these small open pages are required to print his 264 folios, with my 176 notes. He commonly conforms to the requirements of dotted *i* and crossed *t*, but otherwise strikes out for himself in the formation of letters. His most original invention is an *r* which would puzzle Œdipus, as it is always a careful *n*; most of his short-stroke characters look alike in their resemblance to bends of the Arkansaw river on a map, and his long strokes seem as if they had been struck by lightning. The incessant capitals are flourished elaborately, and not confined to initial letters. Fowler is also fond of capping little words, as if he thought they needed such help to hold up their heads with big ones, and equally apt to begin proper names, sentences, and paragraphs with lowercase letters. This style of composition appears on the printed page, which faithfully imitates every peculiarity of the original which can be set with an ordinary font of type. The syntax is the sort which has been happily called "dash dialect"—Fowler has no other punctuation than the dash, excepting a sporadic period here and there, usually misplaced, and an occasional stab at the paper which is neither one thing nor another, and may therefore be overlooked. His spelling speaks so well for itself in print that little need be said on that score. Its entire originality, its effusive spontaneity, its infinite variety, will charm the reader while it puzzles him, and make the modern manufacturer of Dialect despair of his most ingenious craft. Aside from sheer slips of the pen, by which Fowler often misses letters, as in writing "campe," "caped," "capped," or "capted" for *camped*, there is a particular point to which I may call attention as the most characteristic—in fact, the diagnostic—feature of his composition. It is that habitual omission of final *y* which makes the definite article do duty for the third personal pronoun nominative; and when this is followed by a misspelled verb simulating a noun, some curious locutions result. Thus, "the Road" stands for *they rode;* "the Ware," for *they were;* "the Cold," for *they could;* "the Head," for *they had;* "the Maid," for *they made*—and so on, to the end of the book.

But it is needless to pursue this alluring theme; the reader may turn to the text which follows this feeble preface so strenuously, and see for himself with what a *tour de force* our ingenious author managed to evade what we now call good grammar. I have found more than one reason for transferring this curious copy to type with the utmost verbality, literality, and punctuality of which the compositor is capable. In the first place, it tickled my fancy so that I wished others to enjoy the same sensation—for is it not said that our joys are doubled by sharing them, as our sorrows are halved by the same process? Again, to prolong these pleasantries, I may say that I thought this would be a good way to show that awesome deference which I ought to feel for certain captious critics of former works with which my name is associated, whose green-eyed strabismus has seen me in the light of entirely too good an editor—that is to say, who have complimented me by their censure for making my authors too intelligible, too attractive, and altogether too readable, by the way I dressed them for the press.

So I determined to submit the pure text of Fowler's Journal to the discernment of competent critics of literary wares, as well as to the lack of that quality in fussy fault-finders, and let everybody see how some manuscript looks when it is printed just as it is written. I do not vaunt this specimen as unique in any respect except the handwriting, a sample of which is reproduced. The article is much like others of Fowler's times and circumstances; it is only a little off the average syntax and orthography of that period, with a few more capitals and dashes than were then usual. I know authors of our own day whose copy would turn out a good deal like Fowler's if the printer did not fix it up for them. They are mostly the ones who damn instead of blessing the artists of the art preservative of arts. Few women, for example, can spell quite like the dictionaries; fewer still can punctuate properly; and fewest of all persons of either sex in the world are those authors, even among professional literarians, who would like or could afford to see themselves set up in print exactly as they write themselves down. There is said to be a day coming when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, the wicked shall tremble, and they shall say to the mountains, " fall on us "—or words to that effect. I cite the passage from early memory, not having the author in hand, and have not verified the quotation; but I will risk anything of that sort, provided the day never comes when the secrets of the printing office shall be revealed. I am at peace with my God, my neighbor, and myself; but—I am an author.

If we turn from the form to the substance of Fowler's Journal, and ask to see the bill of lading, curious to know what useful or valuable information is contained in so singular a vehicle of conveyance, it may be confidently said that this "prairie schooner" is well freighted for a "voige" on the highway of Americana; for the cargo is a novel and notable contribution to our knowledge of early commercial venture and pioneering adventure in the Great West. It is simply a story of the trader and trapper, unsupported by the soldier, unimpeded by the priest, and in no danger from the politician. The scene is set in the wilderness; the time is when pack-animals are driven across the stage, before the first wheels rolled over the plains from the States to Santa Fé; and the actors have very real parts to perform.

From the respective dates of Pursley, of Lalande, and of Pike, whose several travels were among the first if not the earliest overland from the United States to the Spanish settlements, on the part of American citizens—from the opening years of the century to the 1821–22 of Fowler—various parties were on the Arkansaw in what are now Kansas and Colorado. But the records of where they went or what they did? That is the question. Ezekiel Williams, James Workman, Samuel Spencer, sole and shadowy survivors of Coyner's "Lost Trappers," are only uneasy spirits flitting from the Missouri to Mexico and California in an apocryphal book, never materializing out of fable-land into historical environment. Wherever other American trappers or traders may have gone on the Arkansaw or even the Rio Grande in those days, and whatever they may have done, Fowler was first to forge another sound link in the chain which already reached from Pike to Long. The latter's justly celebrated expedition came down the Arkansaw and the Canadian in 1820. Pike ascended the main river from its great bend to its sources in 1806, the same year that his lieutenant, Wilkinson, descended this stream from the point where he parted from his captain. For the lower reaches of the river we have Thomas Nuttall's Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory, during the year 1819, and various other accounts. But I know of no record, earlier in date than Fowler's, of continuous ascent of the river from Fort Smith to the present position of Pueblo in Colorado. He meandered the whole course of the Arkansaw between the points named, except his cut-off of a small portion by the Verdigris trail. One of his men, Lewis Dawson, who was killed by a grizzly bear at the mouth of the Purgatory—and who, let us hope, left that place for happier hunting-grounds—may not have been the first white American buried in Colorado soil; but the record of a prior funeral would be far to seek. Whose was the first habitable and inhabited house on the spot where Pueblo now stands? Fowler's, probably; for Pike's stockade was hardly a house, and Jim Beckwourth came twenty years after Fowler. The Taos Trail from Santa Fé through the Sangre de Cristo Pass to the Arkansaw at Pueblo was well known to the Spaniards when Fowler's party traversed it in the opposite direction; but we have no American itinerary of that passage at an earlier date than his. When Fowler ascended the Rio Grande to Hot Spring creek in the San Juan range, he followed a Spanish road; but never before had an American expedition been so near the sources of that great river Del Norte, and not till many years afterward did any such prolong Fowler's traces upward. The greater part of Fowler's homeward journey from Taos to Fort Osage will doubtless prove as novel to his readers as it was unexpected by his editor. South of the Arkansaw, his trail was neither by the way he had gone before, nor by either of those roads which were soon be established and become well known; for he came neither by the Cimarron nor the Raton route, but took a straighter course than either, between the two, over Chico Rico Mesa and thence along Two Butte creek to the Arkansaw on the Kansan-Coloradan border. Again, when Fowler left the Arkansaw to strike across Kansas, he did not take up the direct route which caravans were about to blaze as the Santa Fé Trail from Missouri through Council Grove to Great Bend; but went a roundabout way, looping far south to heads of the Whitewater and Verdigris rivers before he crossed the Neosho to make for the Missouri below the mouth of the Kansas.

This bare outline of the way Fowler went in twice crossing the Plains, to and from the Rocky mountains, suffices to show that, taken as a whole, it was not only the first but also the last such itinerary of which we have any knowledge; for if this route has since been retraversed in its entirety, time has obliterated all sign of such an adventure.

Another point is to be scored in connection with Fowler's unique performance. The date is a critical one in the history of the whole subject. That elusive "Red river" which Pike sought in vain in 1806 was only the year before Fowler found by Long to be the Canadian fork of the Arkansaw, instead of that separate tributary of the Mississippi which Long imagined he was descending till he reached its confluence with the same stream which the other detachment of his party followed down. Just at the time when Long had finished his exploration, and Fowler was leading his people home from their wide wandering, the Santa Fé trade was taking definite shape. Like every other such enterprise, this one went through its tentative stages of hesitancy and disconcert, before its final organization as a regular industry; and if any year can be named as that of complete equipment for the business, it is that of 1822. Fowler was thus a factor in the beginnings of a commerce which grew by what it fed upon to the immense proportions it had acquired when it was checked by the troubles of 1846.

Whatever be deemed the merit or demerit of Fowler's work as a whole, viewed in the light of a contribution to the history of Western adventure in connection with the fur trade, I can attest the coherency and consequence of the narrative now before us. The author tells a plain, straightforward story, and never fails to make it intelligible. He never loses the thread of his discourse, never tangles it into an irrelevant skein, and holds himself well in hand through all the asperities he experienced. He is a reasonable sort of a writer, if not a very ready one. I have had little trouble in trailing him from start to finish, for all that compass-points uncorrected for magnetic variation, and distances chained only in the sensations of a tired traveler, are not among the "constants of nature"—especially in the mountains; and I am satisfied that his route is laid down correctly in my notes. The sign is a little dim here and there, in some of the cross-country laps, but we never lose it. Fowler had the good eye for topography to be expected of a professional surveyor, and I only wish that some other persons whose peregrinations I have had occasion to follow had exercised powers of observation equal to those which Fowler displayed under arduous exigencies of trade and travel.

Thus far by way of introducing to the public the hitherto unknown author of a new contribution to Americana, which I hope may find that favor which I believe it deserves.

The task of copying Fowler's Journal *v. l. p.* was intrusted to an expert, Mrs. Mary B. Anderson, to whom acknowledgments are due for the result. The copy was made in my absence from home last summer, during which the lady was left entirely to her own resources in making out the manuscript; and subsequent critical comparison of the transcription with the original served mainly to show its beauty as well as accuracy. The Index is also her careful handiwork.

E. C.

1726 N Street, Washington, D. C.,
*January 1, 1898.*

# MEMORANDOM OF THE VOIGE BY LAND FROM FORT SMITH TO THE ROCKEY MOUNTAINS.

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thorsday 6th Sept 1821

We Set out from fort Smith[1] on the arkensaw and Crossing that River pased threw a bottom of Rich

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[1] Present name of the town which has grown up on the site of the original military post, in Sebastian Co., Ark., about 5 m. S. W. of Van Buren, on the right bank of the Arkansaw river, at the mouth of Poteau river, immediately on the W. border of the State, where the river passes from the Indian Territory into Arkansas; lat. 35° 22′ N., long. 94° 28′ W.; pop. in 1890, 11,311. The original name of the then important frontier locality was Belle Pointe. "The site of Fort Smith was selected by Major Long, in the fall of 1817, and called Belle Point in allusion to its peculiar beauty. It occupies an elevated point of land, immediately below the junction of the Arkansa and the Poteau, a small tributary from the southwest. Agreeably to the orders of General Smith, then commanding the 9th military department, a plan of the proposed work was submitted to Major Bradford, at that time, and since commandant at the post, under whose superintendence the works have been in part completed" in Sept., 1820: Long's Exp. ii, 1823, p. 260, where description of the place follows.

From this starting-point our author proceeds on the direct road to the Neosho river, vicinity of present Fort Gibson, Ind. Terr.

Land Well timbered and much Kaine [2]—thence over Low Ridges the land poor and in some places Rockey —at 30 miles crosed the tallecaw [3] a Crick about 150 feet Wid Large bottoms on bothe Sides and at ten miles farther Crosed the Illinios [4] River about 80 yds Wide and about one mile farther Stoped for the night at Beens [5] Salt Workes—this is the Second night Since We left the fort—the the Workes one Small Well With a few kittles about 55 gallons of Watter make a bushil of Salt and the Well afords Watter to boil the kittles about three days in the Weake Been and Sanders Has permission of the govem [government] to Worke the Salt Spring—the Sell the Salt at one dollar per Bushil—from Heare We pased over

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[2] The common cane, *Arundinaria macrosperma*, which forms extensive brakes.

[3] Tahlequah or Talequah, one of several small tributaries of the Arkansaw from the N., below the Illinois river; on which latter is the town of Tahlequah, capital of the Cherokee Nation, Indian Terr., about 45 m. N. W. of Fort Smith.

[4] Illinois river, the largest tributary of the Arkansaw from the N. between Fort Smith and Fort Gibson: see Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 558, and add: "The Illinois is called by the Osages, Eng-wah-con-dah or Medicine-stone creek," Long, ii, 1823, p. 255. Fowler crosses the Illinois some 6 or 8 m. from its confluence with the Arkansaw.

[5] Bean's or Bean and Saunders' salt works were begun in the spring of 1820 about a mile up a small creek which flows into the Illinois at or near the place where Fowler crosses the latter, some 6 m. from the Arkansaw; description in Long, ii, 1823, p. 254.

Some High poor Hills Some valleys and Some pirarie lands about twenty miles to a large bottom Well Covered in parts With Caine and Well timbered —threw Which We pased about Eight miles to grand River or Six bull.[6] this is fine bold Streem of Clear Watter about 150 yd Wide Which We forded but not Without Some doupts—the Watter Runing With great force—about one mile above the mouth of this River is the mouth of the virdegree[7] a River of about one Hundred yds Wide deep and muddy at the mouth and up it to the Rapids about four miles Wheare there is a trading House. but we Stoped at the trading Hous of Conl Hugh glann[8] about mile up the virdegree Wheare We Remained till the 25th Sept makeing a Raingment for our gurney to the mountains—Heare five of our Hunters Left us and Went Home this Sircumstance much dispereted more of our men—tho We Still determined to purced—and on the 25th of Sept 1821 We found our Selves 20 men in all.[*] and under the Command of Conl Hugh glann

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[6] The Neosho, for which see Pike, ed. of 1895, pp. 395,397–401, etc. "The *Neosho*, or *Grand* river, better known to the hunters by the singular designation of the *Six Bulls*," Long, ii, 1823, p. 253. This is a name which I missed in editing Pike. On the left bank of the Neosho, near its mouth, is Fort Gibson, which was not in existence in 1821.

[7] The Verdigris, Vermilion, Wasetihoge, or Wassuja river, for which see Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 400 and p. 555. Its confluence with the Arkansaw is about the distance said in the text above that of the Neosho. For a few miles from its mouth it forms a part of the boundary between the Cherokee and Creek Nations, and is then crossed by the Mo., Kas. and Tex. R. R., Gibson Station being about 7 m. N. W. of Fort Gibson. Fowler will proceed approximately up the Verdigris for a long distance before turning more westward to reach the Arkansaw again.

[8] Hugh Glenn or Glen, whom Fowler calls "Glann," is readily identified as a well-known Indian trader of those days. "A party of men accompanying Mr. Hugh Glen on his way from

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Fort Smith, to the trading house at the mouth of the Verdigris," Long's Exp. ii, 1823, p. 171, with other remarks on p. 172. "5th [Sept., 1820]. At ten o'clock we arrived at Mr. Glen's trading house near the Verdigris, about a mile above its confluence with the Arkansa. We were hospitably received by the interpreter, a Frenchman, who informed us that Mr. Glen was absent on a visit to Belle Point," *ibid.*, p. 251. As we next discover, "Conl. Glann" commanded our present expedition.

[*] From the above defective list of 20 persons, taken in connection with information regarding their names to be found further on in the book, we arrive at the following approximately correct roster of the party:

1. Colonel Hugh Glenn, in command.
2. Major Jacob Fowler, the journalist, second in command.
3. Robert Fowler, brother of Jacob Fowler.
4. Baptiste Roy, interpreter.
5. Baptiste Peno. (French name, no doubt mispelled.)
6. George Douglas.
7. Nathaniel Pryor, ex-Sergeant of Lewis and Clark's Expedition.
8. —— Bono. (French name, no doubt misspelled, possibly Bonhomme.)
9. —— Barbo. (French name, no doubt misspelled, possibly Barbu.)
10. Lewis Dawson. (Fatally injured by a bear, Nov. 13, 1821; died Nov. 16.)

With mager Jacob Fowler Robert Fowler Battis Roy Battis Peno george Duglas Nat Pryer Bono Barbo Lewis Dauson Taylor Richard Walters Ward Jesey vanbeber Slover Simpson Maxwill Findley Battis moran and Pall a black man the property of mager Fowler we Head thirty Horses and mules Seventen of Which traps and goods for the Indean traid—and Each man mounted

11. ——— Taylor.
12. Richard Walters.
13. Eli Ward.
14. Jesse Van Biber.
15. ——— Slover.
16. ——— Simpson.
17. Dudley Maxwell.
18. ——— Findley.
19. Baptiste Moran.
20. Paul, a negro belonging to Jacob Fowler.

The most interesting of the above names is that of Nathaniel Pryor, of whose identity with the sergeant of Lewis and Clark I have no doubt: see L. and C., ed. of 1893, p. 254, delete the query there, and add: Nathaniel Pryor of Kentucky became an Ensign of the U. S. Army Feb. 27, 1807; Second Lieutenant May 3, 1808; resigned April 1, 1810; was appointed First Lieutenant of the 44th Inf. Aug. 30, 1813; promoted to be Captain Oct. 1, 1814; and honorably discharged June 15, 1815. See also my article, "Letters of William Clark and Nathaniel Pryor," in Annals of Iowa, 3d ser., Vol. I, No. 8, Jan., 1895, pp. 613-620, for an account of Ensign Pryor's disastrous attempt to convey the Mandan chief Shahaka from St. Louis, Mo., to the Mandan villages on the Missouri.

on Horsback—We Left the traiding House in the afternoon—North 50 West about five miles to a Small Crick Which Runs West in to the virdegree—the Bottom between the Six bull and verdegree is High and Rich Well timbered With Some Caine and is about one and a Half miles Wide to the Hills—from What We Cold Learn there is no Caine above this on the arkensaw—We pased to day Some Pirarie Cirted With Wood land Some timber on the Crick it Rained Hard We Packed up our goods and Covered them With Skins to keep them dry and Piched our tents for the night—Conl Hugh glann Haveing Left us and gon by the misheneryss,[10] and to meet us Some Wheare a Head—

26th We Set out Early along the Road Leading to the osage vilege[11] threw fine Pirarie Lands a little Rolling and Scirted With timber the ground is Black and Rich and the vew the most delightfull We this day maid 20 miles threw the Rain Which Continued all day at night Camped on a Crick about 50 feet Wid Runs West With an Extensive Beed of Stone Coal in its bottom there is Some Wood along the Crick but the Cuntry is mostly Pirarie a little Rolling Scirted With groves of timber Heare the Rain Continued all night—Heare one of our Hunters—Slover Lay out all night but Came in in the morning

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[10] Indian missionaries, several of whose establishments have been located in this vicinity.

[11] Approximately up the Verdigris, as already indicated. The road taken is marked on several maps I have examined. For the Osage village in mention, see Pike, ed. of 1893, p. 557. This "Arkansaw band" of Osages consisted of those called "Osages of the Oaks," in Long, ii, p. 251. Their most influential man then, as in Pike's time, was Clermont, surnamed the "Builder of Towns," and I suppose that the village now called Claremore,

27th We Set out Early along the path threw the Pirarie—timber still to be seen in groves and along the Branches—We maid 20 miles and Camped on a Small Crick Well timbered—Heare we found Findley He Left us 2 days ago—and was Heare waiting for us this day was Clear and pleesent Robert Fowler killed a Large Buck—one Hors gave out was left

28th Sept 1821 Rained all day we Remained in Camp—

29th the Weather Clear We Set out Early and was Soon over taken By Conl glann and soon after in Sight of the osage vilege. Heare We Ware delited With a vew of a nomber of Hills or mounds [11] nearely

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among the Blue Mounds on the Verdigris, in the Cherokee country, was named for him. In 1820 some of Long's party were assured "that Clermont had then four wives, and thirty-seven children! a number . . . which may probably be attributed to this chief by mistake," as the narrative sagely adds. Clermont's band are also called "Chaneers," *ibid.*, p. 244, on the authority of Dr. Sibley.

[11] These are the Blue Mounds mentioned in the last note. The

of the Same Hight. from 70 to 80 feet but of diferent Shapes Some Round and pointed like a Stack others squair and flat. and the top of one neare the vilege Contains about 15 acres of Rich Black land—and great part of the Bluff faced With a parpendickler Rock—so that with but little labour a few men might keep off a large armey—Heare is one of the most delight full peace of Cuntry I Have Ever Seen—of Rich lime stone land mixed With Wood lands the Pirarie is more Exstensive than Woods—

Heare We find not one sole in or about the vilege the Indeans are all gon a buffelow Hunting and are not Exspected to return till in the Winter. We find our Jurney to this place one Continued Corse North 50 W Heare we Crosed the virdegree and got on Higher grounds and Nearly Covered With Rocks in Some places and Steered North 70 West 10 miles to a small Crick [13] Runing South and Well timbered—Heare We Camped for the night—We Seen this day

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several "cricks," which Fowler has spoken of crossing, are inconsiderable tributaries of the Verdigris flowing southerly, as those called Big, Otter, Dog, etc.

[13] The Verdigris has been crossed from E. to W. a very few miles above the confluence therewith of the Little Verdigris or Caney river, which is now on Fowler's left as he follows it up approximately, but at some distance therefrom, on a general course about N. W. Of the series of its small tributaries, running to his left, the one on which he camps is perhaps Five Mile creek, or the next beyond that.

Some Wild Horses. game is scars We this day find our Horses two Heavey loaded and Concluded to leave part [of their loads]

30th Sept 1821

We this morning Berryed or Cashed [cached] as the french Call it 32 Bever traps 2 Cases of tobaco and fifty pounds of Brass Wier on the West Bant of the Creek 200 yds above the large Road and 50 below the small path on Which is a Connu [canoe] marked on an oack

october 1th 1821

We Set out Early and Stered North 50 West to the little virdegree[14] Wheare a large Indean Road Crosse it this River is about 30 yds Wide With Clear Watter and High Banks—and large inCampment on the East Side. Heare we Crossed to the West Side and followed the North forke of the Road about one mile to another Branch of the Same River but Not more than ten Steps Wide both Streems Running South With Rich timbered bottom be tween the boath—after pasing this forke We Stered the Same Corse threw Roling Pirarie ten miles to a mound. to the North and East the Cuntry is a little Rolling mostly Pirarie With timber along the Branches on our left the mountains or High Hills appeer at from four to five miles distance Heare to avoid the Hills Which Continu on our left We Steered N 30 West six mill [miles] and Camped on the little virdegree—Peno Went off to Hunt in the fore part of this day and did not Return—

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[14] The smaller one of the main two forks of the Verdigris, running on a general S. E. course from Kansas through the N. E. corner of Oklahoma into the Cherokee country, and joining the Verdigris in the vicinity of the Blue Mounds. Fowler continues up the Little Verdigris.

2nd october 1821 } We set out Early and pased over High Leavel Pirarie lands North 45 West three miles to the High Hills Crossing a small Bransh Runing North at the futt of them—We after Some time gained the top of the Hills and found the Cuntry Rolling and partly timbered and partly Pirarie at twelve miles farthe We Crossed the little virdegree again and Camped on the North Bank Heare Duglass got lost in the Evenings Hunt and lay out all night

3rd october 1821 } this morning our Horses Ware much Scattered and took us till a late our to Collect them—Duglass found the Way to Camp—and Peno Came in With Some veneson Haveing Killed three deer—Heare we found a large Indean Road going up the Crick and Crossing some of its Branches

South 30 West and the Hills being High We followed the Road. the lands poor With Short oack and Hickory for about fifteen miles Wheare the Cuntry begins to appear With fine Rich Piraries Well bordered With Wood lands of a good quality We this day got one deer and Some turkeys game is getting more plenty —We maid 20 miles and Camped on a Small Crick Running South—[15]

4th october 1821

We Set out Early and at three miles Crossed a Crick 50 feet Wide Running No 45 West—and at about three miles farther in an open Pirarie We found a large Buffelow Bull lying dead Soposed to be killed by the Indeans We now begin to Hope Soon to kill Some Buffelow our Selves as we Have nothing With us but Salt only What We kill our Selves. Heare We find our Selves in an oppen and Exstensive Pirarie Scarsly a tree to be Seen but as We prograss We find Sign of Buffelow We See some deed and Some Caberey [16]—in the Evening on our left We Seen Ward one of our men on Hors back Running a buffelow Some of [us] put off to asist Him but He killed the large Buffelow Bull before We over took Him—after takeing What meet We Wanted—We Went on makeing 23 miles and Camped on a River about 50 yds Wide Running West Soposed to be the Bad Salean [17]—the Watter is Clear and deep at this place Some Sign of Bever our Corse this day is North 60 West—

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[15] Some obscure tributary of the Little Verdigris, up which river Fowler has come to a point probably not determinable from his itinerary. On crossing the meridian of 96° W. he passed from the Indian Territory into Oklahoma, and is now in the N. W. corner of the latter, in the Osage Reservation, not far from the S. border of Kansas. Hence he will take a general westerly course, through the Osage country, nearly parallel with the Kansas border and Cherokee strip, to the Arkansaw river. I find myself unable to trace this traverse satisfactorily, as neither the courses nor the distances given can be relied upon. I am inclined to think Fowler sometimes reverses the courses of streams—*i. e.*, gives them as they bear from himself, not as they flow. At any rate I cannot identify the several streams he mentions Oct. 3–5. I suppose that, after finishing with the watershed of the Little Verdigris, he crosses some heads of Buck (formerly Suicide) creek, and then Beaver and Little Beaver creeks, whose united streams enter the Arkansaw at the Kaw Agency.

the Pirarie threw Which We passed this day is nearly leavel With a Rich Black Sandey Soil there is no other Rock Except that of limestone Which only appeer in Spott on the Sides of Branches and on the top of Some of the Highest ground—for there is no

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[16] Cabree or cabri—the American antelope, *Antilocapra americana*.

[17] *Read* Bad Saline. But this is a mistake; the Saline or Salt fork of the Arkansaw is far from here, on the other side of the main river. Qu: is the supposed "Bad Salean" a headwater of Buck creek?

Hills Heare there is Some timber along the branches

5th october 1821 } We Set out Early Crossing the River a little below our Camp Wheare there is a good ford and at about two miles Crossed a large Crick 100 feet Wide it Corse South East and about 10 miles Crosed a Crick 50 feet Wide all So Running South East Heare the Pirarie is a little more Roleing —and at 18 miles Crosed a crick—and 19 miles in-Camped [18] on a Crick the West forke of the Same the meet Below Wheare We Crosed—Heare the Cuntry Still Continues to be a little Roleing the land Rich the limestone appeers in some places along the Bluffs Which are not High or Steep Hear We seen great nombers of Poor Buffelow Bulls and Blame our Hunters for not killing fat Cowes When there is not one to be seen

5th october 1821 [continued]

for We Cold not tell them apart at So great a distance and it Was in vain for our Hunters to tell us there Was no Cows among So many Buffelow as We Cold See at all most any time Corse this No 50 West 19 miles—

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[18] Four questionable streams passed to-day; I suppose them to be the Beaver creek and its tributaries already mentioned, as Fowler must cross these to strike the Arkansaw at the only point which renders intelligible his itinerary up this river to the Little Arkansaw at Wichita, Kas., as given beyond. Fowler appears to be camped on Little Beaver creek, above its junction with Beaver creek; if so, he is in the Kansas Indian Reservation, a few miles N. of present Kaw Agency.

6th october 1821

We set out Early over Butifull High Pirarie leavel and Rich and at Eight miles West We fell on the arkensaw River [19] Heare there is plenty of timber all a long the River on both Sides as far as We Cold See We are now out of meet and Blameing our Hunters for not finding Buffelow Cows the Have neglected to kill the Bulls When the Cold and the are not so plenty as the Ware and We beleve Have been latly drove off by the Indeans as the are now shy.

6th octor 1821 [continued]

We now steered north leaveing the [Arkansaw] River on our lefft Hand Beleveing the High Hill and Bluffs Near the River Wold be difequal to pass With loaded pack Horses—at 6 miles over High Rich lime stone Pirarie We Camped on a Crick [20] 60 feet

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[19] At a point somewhere within the present Kansas Indian Reservation, in Oklahoma, perhaps not far from opposite the mouth of Chilocco or Chilocky creek, a little S. of the Cherokee strip.

[20] Apparently the stream now known as Grouse creek, which traverses Cowley Co., Kas., on a general S. S. W. course, to fall into the Arkansaw in the Cherokee strip, between Kansas and Oklahoma.

Wide Wheare We killed Some turkeys in the Evening—We Ware all So informed by Some of the party that Indeans Ware Camped at no great distance—

7th october 1821 We moved West up along neare the [Arkansaw] River over Some High Rockey Bluffs and threw a large Sandy bottom to the bank of the River makeing five miles and Camped near the Indeans from them got Some dryed meet Corn Beens and dryed Pumkins for [which] We paid them In Such artickels as the wanted—these are the osage Indeans and the first We met With on our Route the [they are] frendly the Weather is now giting Cold With High Winds Cloudey and Rained threw the night—the timber in the bottoms and Hill Sides is a king [kind] of Jack oak and very low Cotten Wood and Willow groes along the River—we stoped at this place for the purpose of purchasing Horses Haveing left two be Hind and three more unfitt for Survice makes us bad of for Horses and the prospect of provetions is not promesing as We Heare the Indeans are Camped for alonge Way a Head of us threw Wheare We must pass let [left] one Horse With an Indean—

8the october 1821

We moved up the River N 45 West two miles and Camped the Rain Still Continues Heare Conl glann purchased one Poor Hors at a High price and Highered one Indean to go along With us Some of the Hands killed 10 turkeys

9th octr 1821—

We Set out Early and Steered north leaveing the River at Right angles over Riseing butifull Pirarie three miles to White [21] River about 70 $y^{ds}$ Wide Running West into the arkensaw this River Has a Continued grove of timber all alonge its Cores [course] as far as We Cold see and the land Rich—We Crosed this River leaveing it on our Right and up it at Eight miles Camped on the South West Side for the purpos of purchasing Horses Sucseeded in Swoing [swapping] two and purchasing two at a High price —the Indeans advise us to Cross the arkensaw and Steer West Corse and strike the arkensaw at the big timber Near the mountains but the Season is late and Want of Wood and Watter Renders it a Hazous undertakeing—the Indeans Say it is about two days travel to the little arkensaw—the Hunters Brought in four deer one very fine Buck the first good meet We Have Head the land on this Creek is Rich and and Well timbered along the bottoms the Bluffs furnis abundance of lime Stone for all purposes of Building and fenceing—and is Capeable of makeing one of the finest Settlements in the united States—there being a nomber of the best of Springs

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[21] White or Whitewater is a former name of that stream which is now known as Walnut creek, and on which is situated Winfield, seat of Cowley Co., Kas. Its general course is S. through Butler and Cowley counties, but it loops both E. and W. on approaching the Arkansaw. Fowler says that he struck it on its W. bend, which is above the place called Arkansas City, and if, after crossing it, he ascended it for 8 m., he proceeded about N. W. in the direction of Winfield.

10th octr 1821

We purchased yesterday one small Hors and one to day—But when We gethered up our Horses to move off Robert Fowlers Horse Was mising—all tho He Was With the Rest in the morning—We Conclude the Indeans Have Hiden Him in the Woods and leave Peno to Sarch for Him and to fetch up Barbo left Sick With Him—all so left a Blanket to give the Indean that find or Return the Horse

11th octr 1821

We Set out Early leaveing [Walnut Creek] on the Wright and Steering N 25 West fifteen miles over High Pirarie to a small Crick and Camped[22] Near its mouth yesterday Peno Returned With the Sick man but With out the lost Hors the Hors is no doupt Stolen and With the knoledge of the Chiefs. these last Indeans appeer more unfriendly and talk Sasy and bad to us but this Is to be Exspected as the Come from the upper vilege and are Said to be a Collection of the Raskals from the other vileges

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[22] Nearly on the line between Cowley and Sumner counties, Kas.

12th october 1821

Cloudey and Rains a little We Set out Early North 60 West fifteen miles over a Rich low Ridge there is Scarcly a tree or a Stone to be Seen and Hole land Covered With tall grass there is all along Whight River and on this Ridge much sign of Buffelow but the Indeans Have drove them off—We Camped on Small Branch[23] Near the arkensaw River

13th octor 1821

We Set out Early up the River Leaveing it on our left at a Bout 14 miles Crossed a Small Crick on which is a large Beed of the Plaster of Paris at 20 miles We Camped on the Bank of the little arkensaw[24]—one Indean Cheef and two young me[n] viseted us at Camp and stated the Ware [they were] glad to see us Whitemen and frends—as they Had Seen or Heared Some of our men Last Evening and Soposed them be Paneys [Pawnees] and their Enemies on which acoumpt the Head [they had] all left their Camp and Hid them Selves in the timberd lands on the River—

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[23] Vicinity of Mulvane, on or near the line between Sumner and Sedgwick counties, Kas.

[24] At Wichita, seat of Sedgwick Co., Kas., where the Little Arkansaw joins the Arkansaw river.

14th oct 1821

We Set out Early Crossing the little arkensaw and steering West at 12 miles Came to the Banks of the arkensaw thence up the River North 70 West We Camped on the [left] Bank[25] With out trees—We yester left one Horse He gave out—and this morning discharged the Hiered Indean—the Cuntry Continues fine the land leavel and Rich the timber is plenty on the little arkensaw and Some for a few miles up the main River but Heare there is no timber or Willowes on the River Buffelow Bulls still appeer But no Cows and we are now Satisfyed of the Caus of the Hunters not killing any of that Speces no Sign of deer. tho We seen some turkeys last Evening

15the octobr 1821

We set out at our ushal time up the River No 80 West and Stoped at the mouth of a bold sreem of Watter 70 feet Wide[26]—but We Ware Soon alarmed

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[25] Up which the party will continue for many days. Camp to-day in Sedgwick Co., near the border of Reno Co.

[26] Cow creek, a considerable tributary of the Arkansaw, falling in below Hutchinson, seat of Reno Co. See Pike, ed. of 1893, p. 424.

by the Hunters Comming and Haveing Some Indeans on Hors Back and soposed to be in pursute of them—We Emedetly move up the River Crossing the Crick to some Sand Knobs on the River Bank about 400 yds above the mouth of the Crick—there being no timber We maid a Brest Worke of our Bagage and Remained the balence of the [day] Waiting the arivel of the Indeans—but none appeered—Some Buffelow Bulls Ware killed to day We kept the Horses tyed up all night—yesterday the Sand Knobs appeer at about ten miles distance on our Right Hand and run Perellel With the River
Some Scatering trees appeer on the Knobs—

16th october 1821

We Set out Early and maid ten miles up the River the Sand Knobs still on the Right We Sent out Some Hunters to kill a Cow but the Remained out all night We Ware much alarmed for their safety—no mee meet for Suppe or Brackfest—our Corse No 70 West and Camped on the River [27]

17th octr 1821
We Continued up the River North 65 West 15 miles and Camped on the Bank Scarcly a tree to be Seen

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[27] At or near Hutchinson, Reno Co.

—We this day pased the Head Spring [28] of the Crick at the mouth of Which We Camped on the 15th this [is] a large butifull Spring about three miles from the River on the north Side and in a leavel Rich Pirarie the Sand Hills appeer all a long on the South Side and near the River—the are not more then 60 or 70 feet High and the Cuntry leavel beyound them to a great distance those on the north about the Same Hight and Several miles from the River [29]—Which is from two to 400 yds Wide—With large Sand bars and low Islands this is its general Carecter as fare as We Have seen it

18th octr 1821

We Set out at our ushal time at ten miles pased a point of Rocks and a Hoop wood tree on them—to our Right and almost one mile from the River—and at [illegible] there is Some Cotten Wood trees along the River—at 18 miles We Camped[30] on the Bank Without trees—Some Islands in the River the Higher grounds aproch nigher the River but Loos the appeeren of Sand Hills on the north

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[28] The ultimate sources of Cow creek, at the mouth of which Fowler camped on the 15th, are of course afar off. He means a source of Bull creek, that branch of Cow creek which arises in the vicinity of Sterling, Rice Co., and runs approx. parallel with the Arkansaw past Nickerson, Reno Co., to join Cow creek a few miles below the latter place.

[29] The 1700-feet contour line is quite near the S. side of the Arkansaw for several miles along here, and crosses the river a little below Raymond, Rice Co., while on the N. side the same contour line is as far off as Lyons—some 11 or 12 miles. Fowler viewed the topography correctly.

19th octr 1821

We set out at the ushal time and at 8 miles West We pased a point of Red Rocks about 600 yds from the River and at Eleven miles Crosed the paney[31] River about one and a Half miles above its mouth this is a deep bold Streem 50 feet Wide of Running Watter Banks High and about 80 feet Wide at the top Heare is ash Walnut Elm and Cottenwood over to this place Was West—this is the Second Streem We

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[30] At or near Ellinwood, Barton Co. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 425. Fowler is fairly on the great bend of the Arkansaw, but not yet at the place called Great Bend.

[31] A mistake—Fowler has not yet reached the Pawnee fork of the Arkansaw. His "paney River" is Walnut creek, near which is Great Bend, seat of Barton Co. This identification is proven by: (1) The *west* course assigned for to-day, the reach from Ellinwood to Great Bend being the only one in that direction. (2) The *walnut* and other trees named as growing on this stream. (3) The statement that this is the *second* stream crossed since leaving the Little Arkansaw—the only other one being Cow creek of p. 19. (4) The courses and distances given beyond for the identifiable streams crossed, namely: Pawnee fork, Coon creek, and Mulberry creek, all of which fetch out quite right, if the present adjustment be made, otherwise all wrong. It would be curious to know if this is simply a blunder of Fowler's, or if Walnut creek was once known as "paney river"; most likely the

Have Crosed Since pasing the little arkensaw—We found a good ford [across Walnut Creek] and Steered South 50 West Six miles to the Bank of the River—the land leavel as fare as the Eye Can see. Some Cottenwood on the Banks and Some Bushis. the Red Rock is evidently a volcanic production is porous like pomestone but heavier than common Sand stone—Back from the river 5 miles the Hunters reports very Large quantities of pomestone on the side of a hill which appears to them to be half blown off (Hill) by some cause—The sand and gravel thrown up by the Prarie Squarrels [*Cynomys ludovicianus*] is

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former, as I have never met with the present malidentification before. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 425.

Fowler rounds the great bend, past Great Bend, and camps, as he says, 9 m. short of the true Pawnee fork. It will be observed that he has no name but "Red Rock" for the subsequently and long famous Pawnee Rock, which now gives name to a station on the railroad, said to be 16 m. above Great Bend and 13 m. below Larned. It is said to have received its name from a fight there in May or June, 1826, when an expedition which Col. Ceran St. Vrain had fitted out was attacked by Pawnees, and Kit Carson, then a boy, killed his own mule by mistake for an Indian during a false alarm the night before. "Pawnee Rock is no longer conspicuous. Its material has been torn away both by the railroad and the settlers in the vicinity, to build foundations for water-tanks, in the one instance, and for the construction of their houses, barns, and sheds, in the other. Nothing remains of the once famous landmark, its site is occupied as a cattle corral by the owner of the claim in which it is situated," says Inman, Old Santa Fé Trail, 1897, pp. 404, 405.

precisely the same of that in the river for 5 or 8 miles distance from the river See great nombers of buffelow and Elks one of the Hunters killed three Cows but Haveing no Horse With Him the meet Was left out and lost Except a few pounds He Carryed in on His back—

20th octobr 1821

We Steered South 40 West and at nine miles Crosed a Crick [22] 40 feet Wide a bold Running streem about one futt deep and a few trees up it In sight. at ten miles We Camped on the River Bank in a low Bottom—at about three miles the ground Rises a little So as to form low Hills large Hords of Buffelow In Sight the Sand Hills Still appeer on the South Side of the River and to appeerence distetute of vigetation as the are Bald While those on the north are a Hard Black Soil With Some progecting Rocks and Covered With vigetation mostly a Short grass Something like Blew grass—on the morning of the 18th Findley mounted his [horse] took With Him His Blankets and Crossed the River to the South Side for the purpose of killing a Boffelow Cow Since Which time We Have Heard nothing of Him—yesterday morning Sent Back two men to look for Him—the Have not Returned—We are afraid Findley is lost by going two fare out in the Sand Hills We Exspect to Stop in about two days to Rest our Horses and Wait for Findley to Come up—

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[22] *This* is the Pawnee fork, which Fowler crosses at Larned, Pawnee Co., and continues up the left bank of the Arkansaw. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 432.

21st Octr 1821

We set out at the ushal Hour and at Seven miles pased a point of Rocks on Which stands two trees about 600 yds from the River—and seven and a Half miles Came to a deep and mudey Crick[33] 100 feet Wide Heare Some of our Horses Run to drink and Ware Swomped With their loads and Ware forsed to be pulled out—We Went [up] it about Half a mile and Crossed over and Camped about three miles up it—Findley['s] mair gave out this day and Was left We maid We maid ten miles this day South 50 West—this is a butifull Running Streem With many fine Springs along its Banks—the Hunters killed two Fatt Cows We Have now plenty of good meet—the two men Returned but no word of Findley—a point of Hills or Rocks appeers at seven miles distance near the River Bareing South 35 W—We gave this the name of Buffelow Crick[24] from one of our Horses Being Swomped With the meet of a Buffelow on Him and these anemels Being very plenty Heare

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[33] Big Coon creek, which skirts the Arkansaw for a long distance, and on which are Garfield, Pawnee Co., and Kinsley, Edwards Co. Camp in the vicinity of Garfield. See Pike, ed. of 1895, pp. 434, 435.

22nd octr 1821 monday

We Set out Early and at 7 miles pased the point mentioned yester day a bout one from the River at fifteen miles Camped on the Bank of the River about three miles to the left of our line of march about 4 miles Back of our Camp We Crossed a Branch[25] of Bold Running Watter 30 feet Wide—no timber Wheare We lay the men Waided over and geathered drift Wood for the night the Hunters killed one fatt Buffelow Some Cotten Wood on the South Side of the River above and below the Camp—the Sand Hills Still appeer on that Side the sand Hills aproch nier the River With Some Cotten Wood trees on them—Findley Returned

23rd octr 1821 tusday

We Set [out] at the ushal Hour South 10 West up the River maid ten miles and Camped in a low Bottom the Sand Hills Continue on the South—very leavel on the north for a great distance Back no timber on the north Side for the last two days march Emence Hords of Buffelow all traveling to the north While those we pased a few days ago Ware traveling to the South—We see maney Wild Horses—we Exspect [Indians are?] near us to the South Which moves the Buffelow to the north the Islands and sand bars still Continue But no bever We Head a fine feast last night on four fatt Buffelow Cowes

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[24] The same Big Coon creek, up which Fowler is still going, approx. parallel with the Arkansaw. Camp in the vicinity of Kinsley, Edwards Co.

[25] One of the forks of the same Big Coon creek.

24th octr 1821 Wensday—

We Set out Early and at Seven miles the River Was 2½ miles to the left and at Eleven miles We maid the lower Eand of an Island on Which there is timber but none on Ither Side—the main Chanel is on the South Side Hear the High land aproch the River on both Sides—on the north Side there apperes a Whightis [whitish] Rock of Considerable Exstent the River makes Hear a Short Bend to the Right—the Cuntry Heare is a little Rolling But the land Rich and Butifull—no Wheare two steep for the Waggon or the plow. Heare at the uppe Eand of this Island the Bluff aproches the River and is the first above the little arkensaw—that that Shews it Rocky—on this Island there is good food for the Horses—and We Con Cluded to lay By one day to mend our mogesons and Rest our Horses as many of there Backs Ware Sore oing to the carelesness of the men the Horses are

Poor and We Exspect that [some] of them Will not be able to Rech the mountains

25th octobr 1821

We Exspored the Cuntry for a few miles Round and on an Island about three miles above us found an Indean fort Which might Contain about 60 men this fort Is maid nearly Round and Built of logs layed on Each other—and is about two years old and must Have been built By a War party Which did not occupy it long—tho it Has been Inhabetid not more than two or three Weaks ago by Some People—the Haveing used fyer and left the Spit on Which the Head [they had] Roasted meet—above this Island a streem [26] of Bold Running Watter one Hundred and fity feet Wid puts in on the South Side—no timber at its mouth but timber appeers about two miles up it —its Cors is South 25 West—the Sand Hills Conting above this Crick but appers in a long Continued Ridge

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[26] Mulberry creek, falling into the right bank of the Arkansaw at town of Ford, Ford Co. Here is a case in which Fowler obviously reverses the course of a stream, giving the direction as it bears *from* himself; N. 25° E. is about right for Mulberry creek. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 436. This identification of Mulberry creek shows that we have fetched Fowler correctly from the great bend, his courses and distances proving to be near enough.

26th october 1821 Friday

We Set out Early and Crossing the River to the South Side Steered our Corse West and Crossing the [Mulberry] Crick mentioned yesterday at six miles and Crossing a point of low land leaveing the River a bout 3 miles to the Right in the Bend and at twenty miles[87] Stoped on an Island Well Clothed With timber Heare Was all so an old Indean Fort Smaller than the other and Had been used by the Same pursons that Head lately been at the other We Heare Con Clude them to be White men there Horses being Shod—We Have as yet Head but three nights of frost and no Ice—We Have not Seen one tree on Ither Side of the River the only apper on the Islands and nothing there but Cotten Wood—at this Island the main Chanel Is on the north Side

Satterday 27th octr 1821

We Set out Early Steering West on the South Side of the River—fifteen miles[88] to an Island the main Channel on the north Side—the River as ushal is full of Islands With more or Less Cotten[wood] on them

[87] The distance given sets Fowler at or near site of present Dodge City, seat of Ford Co., for many years the most notable point along this portion of the river, as it still is. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 437.

[88] Vicinity of Cimarron, Gray Co. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 438.

but none on Ither Side of the River—We this day left Findley With two Horses and one mule With Instruction to Remain on the Island five days and then to follow us as the Horses Wold be Rested by that time

28th octr 1821

We Set out at our ushal Hour and keeping up the River West ten miles[39] to a point of timber on the South Side the Rockey [hills] frequently appeer on the north Side and the Sand Hills on the South Some Scattering Cotten Wood trees gro on the Sand Hills one othe Hors gave out this day and Was left

monday 29th octr 1821

We Set out at our ushal Hour Steering N 70 West up the River at fifteen miles Crossed a Spring branch to a few Cotten Wood trees on the River Bank in low Bottom Where We Camped[40] for the night Heare the Hunters killed one deer and See Several more—this this the first We Have Seen Since We left the Paney River but the Buffelow and Elk are In great a bondance all the Way So that the Hunters kill [all] the[y] Wish We all So got two Cows to day—and See a great many Elk——

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[39] Vicinity of Ingalls, Gray Co., or rather beyond.

[40] At some point beyond Pierceville, Finney Co. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 440.

### 30th octobr 1821

We set out as ushal and Steered North 75 West ten miles to a low point of greavel and Sand Washed by the River the land Rises gently to the left for about one and a Half miles both above and below this point the Bottoms on the River are low—at fifteen miles We Camped[41] on an Island Clothed With tall grass and Cotten Wood trees—the main Chanel on the north Some Small Islands on the South With out trees

### 31st octr 1821 Wensday

We Continued our Rout on the South Side our Corse South[42] Sixty five West fifteen miles to a point of Woods on the River Bank  Heare is fine tall grass for our Horses and young Cotten Wood and Willowes are very plenty—a great many trees appeer to Have [been] Cut down by White men and a french trading Camp Have been latly burned down Soposed to [be] Shotoes [43] the Hunters killed this day three of the fatest Buffelows that Have yet Been Braught to Camp—Buffelow Elk deer Caberey and Wild Horses are in great nombers—High Wind all day—

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[41] Having passed Garden City, seat of Finney Co., by perhaps 8 or 10 m.

[42] This first southing seems to indicate a start from a point where the river reaches lat. 38° N., near the W. border of Finney Co., at about the distance last said beyond Garden City; whence the general course of the Arkansaw is nearly as said past Deerfield and Lakin to Hartland, Kearney Co. The distance given from this turn of the river would bring Fowler somewhere between the two last named places.

1st november 1821

Lay by to Rest Horses and dress Skins and prepare for Winter—this morning the first Ice We Seen frose in the Kittle about as thick as the Blaid of a knife and Ice floted down the River—the Bluffs or Hills on the north Sid aproch the River and those on the South are at about 3 miles distance—

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[43] Chouteau's, whose name was long borne by a large island in this vicinity, not easy to locate exactly. If there has been but one of this name, Chouteau's island has floated a good many miles up and down the river—at least, in books I have sought on the subject. Inman locates it near Cimarron, Kas., p. 42; at the mouth of Big Sandy creek, Col., p. 75; and his map agrees with the latter position. He says, pp. 40, 41: "As early as 1815, Auguste P. Chouteau and his partner, with a large number of trappers and hunters, went out to the valley of the upper Arkansas, . . . The island on which Chouteau established his trading-post, and which bears his name even to this day, is in the Arkansas River on the boundary line of the United States and Mexico. . . . While occupying the island, Chouteau and his old hunters were attacked by about three hundred Pawnees, whom they repulsed with the loss of thirty killed and wounded." (Auguste P. Chouteau, b. May 9, 1786, married Sophie A. Labadie Feb. 15, 1809; d. 1839. He was the eldest son of John Pierre Chouteau, and elder brother of Pierre Chouteau, jr., b. Jan. 19, 1789, d. Oct. 6, 1865.)

2nd Remained In Camp all day fine Weather—Some frost last night With Ice—

3rd November 1821

We Steered S° 65 W five miles to a low point of land With Rocks Washed By the River on thes Rocks are some Small Hoop Wood trees the first We Have Seen for a long time and those are the first Rocks We Have pased on the South Side of the River—Heare the [river] bends a little to the Right[44] We proceded ten miles further pasing Some fine Springs to the point of an Island on the South Side of the River Haveing pased over a point [of] bald Sand Hills Washed by the River about Half a mile below our Camp for We Camped on the lower Eand of the Island—Which is large and Well timbered With Cotten Wood—Heare We find the first fresh Sign of bever our Corse from the Hoop Wood trees to this place is N° 80 West—two of our Horses gave out this day and Ware left—on this Island the Hunters killed Some turkeys and Seen Some more. the first We Have Seen above the little arkensaw—the Wind Hard all day from the N—W—

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[44] Exactly so—passing Hartland, seat of Kearney Co., and continuing 10 m. N. 80° W. to camp near border of Kearney and Hamilton counties, nearly in the position of Kendall, in the latter county. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 440.

4th Novr 1821 Sunday—

We Steered No 75 W four miles to [a point] of Sand Hills Washed by the River and at Six miles farther to an Island Clothed With Willow and Cotten Wood—the main Chanel on on the North Side of the Island the last 6 miles our Corse Was West [45]—and pased over one point of Sand Hills and one of gravle both Washed by the River Buffelow Scarce—two turkeys this day—our last nights In Campment appers the first Wintering ground We Have meet With. We pass Some old Camps and Some old tent poles—this day left the mule the [that] gave out a few days ago and Was braught up—

5th novr 1821 Monday

We set out Early and Steered West five miles to a low point of land Washed by the River thence South 80 West and at foure miles [further] pased the beed of a large Crick [46] but no Watter or timber in sight the great quantitys of drift Wood all along its Banks and the Hunters [tell] us the See timber a few miles up it—at three miles farther makeing twelve miles this day We Camped on an Island in the middle of the River—this Island is better Cloathed With timber Brush green grass for the Horses and grape vines than any We Have Seen Heare We found plenty of grapes that are good the first We Have met With in [this] part of the Cuntry the River Continu full of [islands] the one We are on is long and is a good Wintering ground Some Small Connues [canoes] may be maid Heare

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[45] Reading $4 + 6 + 6 = 16$ m. to-day, and the last course W., we should bring Fowler past Syracuse, seat of Hamilton Co., to the vicinity of Coolidge, and thus near the boundary between Kansas and Colorado. This lap seems to me to stretch somewhat, but such advance as I here indicate appears to be required to adjust Fowler's topography beyond, and bring him correctly to Purgatory river on the 13th. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 441. Compare also date of June 11, 1822, beyond.

[46] Apparently that now known as Two Butte creek, from the

6th novr 1821

determined to lay by on act of Wood and the Poor State of our Horses—We Have all Readey lost 13 Horses and two mules and the Remainder Hardly fitt for use We are Camped in a pawnee fort Which appeers to Have been used about two Weakes Since—We Counted 11 tracks of Indians Barfooded in the Sand and found a Woolf that Head been Shott lying on the Sand Bare—

S., falling in nearly opposite Wild Horse or Little Sandy creek from the N., a mile or two above Hollys, Prowers Co., Colorado. Camp 3 m. above Two Butte creek would be about 2 m. short of the station Adana, on the A. T. and S. F. R. R. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 442.

7th Novr 1821

We Set out as ushul and Steerd N.° 80 West twelve miles[47] to a Small Island near the middle of the River We find this day that there is more gravle and less Sand in the River than below theres much more Watter and Cleareer than any Wheare below—the River is still full of Islands—vast Hords of Buffelow In Sight—no bever We See old Sign of Indeans a great many Buffelow being killed in the Summer—We again See the Sign of White men a Head of us—

8th november 1821 thorsday

We Set out as ushul our Corse N 85 W Crossing to the north Side of the River at three miles pased the Beed of a dry Crick[48] 75 yds Wide Corse [from the] north and only a few Scatering trees In Sight on it—at Six miles We Crossed the River on act of a Snow Storm to a grove of trees on an Island in the South Side and Camped for the night—this Island is formed by a large Crick[49] 80 yds Wide puting In on the

[47] Past Adana, Granada, and Manville, to a point about opposite Carlton, Prowers Co.

[48] This large dry creek, from the N., is the Big Sandy, which falls in about the distance said above the camp which was on the island opposite Carlton. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 443. Somewhere about the mouth of Big Sandy creek is one of the locations of the shifty Chouteau's island mentioned on p. 32.

[49] Willow creek, on which is Lamar, seat of Prowers Co. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 443.

South Side and a Slew of Watter Runing out of the River in to this Crick forming a large Island—there is timber In Sight up this Crick and large quantitey of drift Wood alonge it Banks—and from seeing the Same appeerence of drift Wood on other Cricks below Comeing from the Scuth We Sopose there must [be] timber up those Streem as there is no drift Wood from the north—the River Banks are from 6 to 8 fitt High and the Watter much [more] plenty than below Buffelow Plenty and all traveling fast to the north—

9th novr 1821 Friday

Remained in Camp on acounpt of the Cold the Snow about ankel deep Sent out the Hunters the killed 2 Buffelow Cows—the River is Heare deeper and Cruked and Points of [timber] in the bends more plenty—

10th Novr 1821

We Steered S° 65 West five miles to a point of timber on the South Side of the River Which is still narrow deep and Cruked it Bredth is from 150 to 200 yds Wide and deep a knof for Small Boats to asend—

11th novr 1821 Sunday

our Corse South 65 West at four miles pased a point of High Rocks about Half a mile South from the River from this Rock the Bluffs or Hills Continu to our left—and at Eight miles Camped at the mouth of a deep muddey Crick[60] Heare the Bluffs aproch the River on both Sides and are much Higher and Steep as Well as more Rockey than below—Heare is much old Sign of Indeans many Piles of Rock are Raised by them on the bluffs—one fatt Buck killed this day—there are some Bever Heare—

12th Novr 1821 monday

We set out Early and to Enable us to Cross the [Mud] Crick With the Horses We maid a Bridge of Brush and flags Which bore them over With Safty and Steered South 65 West Eight miles to the Point of a Ridge Bound With Rocks and Washed by the River—there is two mounds Covered With Rocks about 300 yds to the South of Camp and about Half a mile a part[61] We this day Crossed a Small [Caddoa]

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[60] Present name the same—Mud or Muddy creek, nearly halfway between Prowers, Bent Co., and Caddoa creek. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 443.

[61] A statement which serves to fix camp with perfect precision. The two mounds said are both between one and two miles due W. of Caddoa, and just the distance said W. of Caddoa creek. These isolated elevations appear in due form on the U. S. Geological Survey map of Colorado, Lamar sheet, near lower left-hand corner. The railroad cuts between the river and these bluffs, but the wagon road rises over them, back of their tops. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 443.

Crick at about four miles back from Camp—and pased over Several Ridges the points of Which Butted a gainst the River With progecting Rocks of the Sand Stone kind—the[re] We Seen Some Peaces of marble—the River Bottoms are about Half a mile Wide and and is offen Crosed from one Side to the other by the River Which is very Cruked and both Sides of the bottom or valley bound With the Bluffs and Rocks Buffelow plenty killed 3 Cows and one deer this day—

We this day Sopose We Seen the mountains for the first time tho We Have long looked for them the Hills or Bluffs on the North Side are High Being two bluffs one on the top of the other and about five miles apart [52]

### 13th novr 1821 tusday

Went to the Highest of the mounds near our Camp and took the bareing of the Soposed mountain Which Stud at north 80 West all So of the River Which is West We then proceded on 2½ miles to a Small Crick [53] Crosed it and asended a gradual Rise for about three miles to the Highest ground in the

[52] Two special elevations across the river, directly in line from camp, are respectively 3975 and 4200 feet high, and their summits just about 5 m. apart.

[53] Present Rule creek, quite at the distance said from the twin bluffs at camp.

nibourhood—Wheare We Head a full vew of the mountains this must be the place Whare Pike first discovered the mountains Heare I took the bareing of two that Ware the Highest [64] the longest South 71 W—the other Which appeered like a point South

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[64] Las Cumbres Españolas—the celebrated Spanish Peaks. This is the place where, on the 15th of Nov., 1806, Pike's party gave "three cheers to the Mexican mountains." His map bears the legend: "Here the Mountains are first seen." It is a curious fact, now forgotten by most persons, that the Spanish Peaks were called and supposed to be Pike's Peak for some time—during the years that Pike's Peak was called James' Peak. Thus, Thomas J. Farnham, writing of 1839 in his Travels, New York, 1843, p. 41, says: "Pike's peak in the *south*west, and James' peak in the northwest, at sunset showed their hoary heads above the clouds that hung around them." Again, *ibid.*, p. 42: "Sixty miles east of these mountains [in Colorado and New Mexico], and 50 *south* of the Arkansas, stands, isolated on the plain, Pike's peak, and the lesser ones that cluster around it"—here also thus distinguishing it from James' Peak, north of the Arkansaw. As I have said in my edition of Pike, p. 457, where I discuss the first application of Pike's name to the peak which now bears it, the date has never been exactly ascertained; and here in Farnham we have the Spanish Peaks called by Pike's name so late as 1839. I suppose it will be difficult, if not impossible, to trace the proper appellation of Pike's Peak back of Frémont's expedition of 1843-44. At the time I penned my note on the subject I did not know that the misapplication of Pike's name to the Spanish Peaks had ever been current, and my reference to the verbal use of the term in the 30's may have had no other foundation. Pike's Peak having been first surmounted by Dr. Edwin James and his men, at 4 p. m., July 14, 1820, was formally named James' Peak in Long, ii, 1823, p. 45, from Long's MS. notes of July 15, 1820.

75 West—nither of those are the mountain Seen this morning—on looking forward We Seen a Branch Puting in from the South Side Which We Sopose to be Pikes first forke [55] and make for it—Crossed and Camped in a grove of Bushes and timber about two miles up it from the River We maid Eleven miles West this day—We Stoped Heare about one oclock and Sent back for one Hors that Was not able to keep up—We Heare found some grapes among the brush —While Some Ware Hunting and others Cooking Some Picking grapes a gun Was fyered off and the Cry of a White Bare [56] Was Raised We Ware all armed in an Instent and Each man Run His own Cors to look for the desperet anemel—the Brush in Which We Camped Contained from 10 to 20 acors Into Which the Bare Head [bear had] Run for Shelter find[ing] Him Self Surrounded on all Sides—threw

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[55] Fowler's supposition is correct—this is Pike's "1st Fork" of the Arkansaw, Spanish Rio Purgatorio and Rio de las Animas Perdidas, French Rivière Purgatoire, English Purgatory river, often corrupted into Picket-wire, and also known as Las Animas river. It enters the Arkansaw from the S. in long. 103° 10′ W., midway between Fort Lyon (across the main stream) and the town of Las Animas, Bent Co. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 445.

Fowler names Purgatory river "White Bair crick" on June 6, 1822, beyond, from the tragic incident now about to be narrated.

[56] Grizzly bear, *Ursus horribilis.* Lewis Dawson may not have been the first American citizen to die and be buried in present Colorado, but I have found no such fact of earlier date.

this Conl glann With four others atemted to Run But the Bare being In their Way and lay Close in the brush undiscovered till the Ware With in a few feet of it—When it Sprung up and Caught Lewis doson and Pulled Him down In an Instent Conl glanns gun mised fyer or He Wold Have Releved the man But a large Slut Which belongs to the Party atacted the Bare With such fury that it left the man and persued Her a few steps in Which time the man got up and Run a few steps but Was overtaken by the bare When the Conl maid a second atempt to shoot but His [gun] mised fyer again and the Slut as before Releved the man Who Run as before—but Was Son again in the grasp of the Bare Who Semed Intent on His distruction—the Conl again Run Close up and as before His gun Wold not go off the Slut makeing an other atack and Releveing the man—the Conl now be Came alarmed lest the Bare Wold pusue Him and Run up Stooping tree—and after Him the Wounded man and Was followed by the Bare and thus the Ware all three up one tree—but a tree standing in Rich [reach] the Conl steped on that and let the man and Bare pas till the Bare Caught Him [Dawson] by one leg and drew Him back wards down the tree. While this Was doing the Conl Sharpened His flint Primed His gun and Shot the Bare down While pulling the man by the leg be fore any of the party arived to Releve Him—but the Bare Soon Rose again but Was Shot by several other [men] Wo Head [who had] got up to the place of action—it Is to be Remarked that the other three men With Him Run off—and the Brush Was so thick that those on the out Side Ware Som time geting threw—

I Was my Self down the Crick below the brush and Heard the dredfull Screems of man in the Clutches of the Bare—the yelping of the Slut and the Hollowing of the men to Run in Run in the man Will be killed and noing the distance So grate that I Cold not get there in time to Save the man So that it Is much Easeer to Emagen my feellings than discribe them but before I got to the place of action the Bare Was killed and [I] met the Wounded man with Robert Fowler and one or two more asisting Him to Camp Where His Wounds Ware Examined—it appeers His Head Was In the Bares mouth at least twice—and that When the monster give the Crush that Was to mash the mans Head it being two large for the Span of His mouth the Head Sliped out only the teeth Cutting the Skin to the bone Where Ever the tuched it—so that the Skin of the Head Was Cut from about the Ears to the top in Several derections—all of Which Wounds Ware Sewed up as Well as Cold be don by men In our Situation Haveing no Surgen nor Surgical Instruments—the man Still Retained His under Standing but Said I am killed that I Heard my Skull Brake—but We Ware Willing to beleve He Was mistaken—as He Spoke Chearfully on the Subgect till In the after noon of the second day When He began to be Restless and Some What delereous—and on examening a Hole in the upper part of His Wright temple Which We beleved only Skin deep We found the Brains Workeing out—We then Soposed that He did Heare His Scull Brake He lived till a little before day on the third day after being Wounded—all Which time We lay at Camp and Buried Him as Well as our meens Wold admit Emedetely after the fattal axcident and Haveing done all We Cold for the Wounded man We turned our atention [to] the Bare and found Him a large fatt anemel We Skined Him but found the Smell of a polcat so Strong that We Cold not Eat the meat—on examening His mouth We found that three of His teeth Ware broken off near the gums Which We Sopose Was the Caus of His not killing the man at the first Bite—and the one not Broke to be the Caus of the Hole in the Right [temple] Which killed the man at last—the Hunters killed two deer Cased the Skins for Baggs We dryed out the Bares oil and Caryed it with us the Skin Was all so taken Care of—

14th novembr 1821

We lay in Camp takeing Care of the Wounded man and takeing the Bareing of the the three principle points of the mountains [57] as the appeer—

the first mountain or grand Peek Bares N 75 W—
the Second South 75 No W
South Eand of same S° 75 W
3rd mountain S° 70 W—
South Eand S° 69 W—

there is on this forke a Continuation of timber and Brush the princeple trees are Cotten Wood With Some Boxelder and Some Small Black locust

15th all posible Care Was taken of the Wounded man for Which purpose We lay in Camp

16th the unfortnet man died at day Brake— and Was Berred near the Bank With a Strong Pen of logs over Him to prevent the Bares or Wolves from

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[57] The first of these is Pike's Peak; the second and third are the two Spanish Peaks. Besides the names of these latter which I have noted on p. 40, they have also been known as Las Dos Hermanas—The Two Sisters; and when I was in that country I sometimes heard the French names Les Tetons and Les Mamelles. The Ute Indian name, Wahtoyah, meaning Twins, is taken by Lewis H. Garrard as the major title of his book, otherwise The Taos Trail, etc., Cincinnati, 1850—a boyish piece of work, but the readable work of a very bright boy, who has much to say from personal observation of Taos, whither Fowler is bound. He is well worth looking up in the present connection.

Scraching Him up—this Is the [first] anemel of the kind We Have met With—

Heare Conl glann Haveing the Command of the party acted as the administrater and ordered the dead mans property Sold to the Highest bidder—and Was Sold as followes one Short Riffel and papetis [?] to

| | |
|---|---|
| george Duglass | $15.00 |
| one muskets Barrl to Jacob Fowler | 5.00 |
| one Blanket to Eli Ward —— | 10.00 |
| 2 vest to pall a Blackman | 2.00 |
| Sundry small artickels to dudley Maxwell | 175 |
| | $33 75 |

the Hole amting thirty three dollrs Which Each man Has to act [account] With Conl glann for What He purchased—

the timber on this fork is mostly Cotten Wood Some Boxelder and Some Small Black locust—the Bottoms are fine and large—With great droves of Elk and Buffelow and Sign of more of the White Bare—there are all So Wild Horses deer and Caberey the trees on the main River are Small but Some of those on the fork are large Enof to mak a Connue—the Watter In the fork is Sofecient to turn a large

Sett [of] mills at this dry Season and Heare is timber for a Small Settlement—Stone In the Bluffs are In abondance for Building and fenceing—after Settleing all things We moved up the River South 73 West 12 miles [88] to a Small Bottom Covered With trees—on the South Side of the River—Haveing pased one

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[88] Vicinity of Robinson, about on the boundary between Bent and Otero counties, and near the site of Bent's fort, which was a noted place for many years. See Pike, ed. of 1895, pp. 446, 447, and to authorities there cited for description add Farnham, Travels, 1843, chap. iv, beginning p. 34. Fort William was an alternative name of the same establishment—so called after one of the Canadian-French Bent brothers, who were William, George, Robert, and Charles. In 1826 three of them, with Ceran St. Vrain, built a rude stockade on the N. bank of the Arkansaw *above* Pueblo—perhaps halfway up to Cañon City. In 1828 they moved down below Pueblo, and began the erection of the permanent structure called Fort William, which was long better known as Bent's "old" Fort. It existed till 1852, when Col. Wm. Bent destroyed it with fire and gunpowder. He immediately selected a new site lower down the Arkansaw, on the same (N.) side, in the well-known locality of the Big Timbers, where he erected Bent's "new" fort in 1853, and used it as a trading-post till 1859, when it was leased to the Government; Col. Bent moving to a point just above Purgatory river for the winter of 1859-60. Next spring Bent's place became Fort Wise, so named for the Governor of Virginia, but in 1861 this name was changed to Fort Lyon, in honor of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, who was killed at the battle of Wilson's creek, Mo., Aug. 10, 1861. In the spring of 1866 the river undermined this post, and it was moved to a point 20 m. lower down, though the old post continued to be used as a stage station by Barlow, Sanderson and Co.

Branch[89] at Six miles and one[89] at nine miles boath on the north Side of the River—and opeset the first the River bore about Six miles to our Right—from our Camp Heare We took the bareing of the mountains —1st N° 72 W—2nd S 76 W 3rd S° 70 W—at this Camp on the Bluffs Was the appeerance of lead But We Head no time to Examen

17th novr 1821 Satterday

I Went on South 5 miles to a High mound and took the Bareing of the mountains as followes 1st the grand Peek north 70 W—2nd not to be Seen 3rd S° 71 W 4th S° 49 W—our Corse from Camp up the River Was South 50 West twelve miles[90] to Whare the River Bends more to the West and Some deep gutters Washed down the Bank and the Hills aproch the River—thence S° 72 W. three miles to Wheare the River aproch the Hills again We pased one Small Crick at about 2 miles be low Camp and the other about Half mile the last about 30 yds Wide but no Watter Running and no timber In Sight—the River Bottoms are more narrow than for two days past—no Buffelow or turkeys there is Some deer and Sign of the White Bare one Hors gave out this day and Was left—the timber is more plenty in the Bottoms.

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[89] Adobe and Horse creeks. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 446.

[90] At or near La Junta, seat of Otero Co., where the Arkansaw bends a little S. of lat. 38° N. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 447.

Sunday 18th Novr 1821

Continued up on the South Side of the River and at about two miles Crossed a dry Branch[61] and at foure miles a deep Branch[62] with Running Watter on Which there Ware several Bever dams With fresh sign of Bever the Branch about Eight Steps Wide at ten miles pased Close to a bend of the River and at Eighteen miles Camped[63] in a low Bottom and drove the Horses aCross the River for grass there being none on Wheare We Camped We find the Bottoms Widen from 4 to 8 miles the Hills much lower and the [ground] more leavle than for Several days past the Buffelow appers to Have left this section of the Cuntry as We Seen but one this day an old Bull With one leg Broken We Soposed by the Indeans—and that the Have drove the Buffelow all off—as their Sign is going to the South

19th nov 1821 monday

took the Bareing of the mountains from Camp this morning 1st north 67 W 2nd north Eand S 88 W

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[61] Present Crooked creek, a little above La Junta. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 447.

[62] Timpas creek, about midway between La Junta and Rocky Ford, Otero Co. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 448.

[63] In the wide low bottom some 4 or 5 m. below Catlin, Otero Co., and about twice that distance short of the Apishapa river. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 448.

South Eand S° 72 W 3rd S° 60 W— 4th S° 39 W to the Highest Peek ther appeers a longe Ridge to Contnue from the South and a Ridge Runs north from the High Peeke—We Steered West up the River and at 10 miles Crosed a dry forke [44] of the River 80 yds Wide but dry at present at fifteen miles Camped in lott of woods on the River Bank Haveing at about 11 oclock Seen a large Smoke ahead and believing it proceded from the Indeans fyer We Halted to look out for them—and in a few minets two of our men Came in Company With one Indean—and in about Half an Hour there Was between 30 and 50 Came Rideing at full Speed With all their Weapens of [up] in a florish as tho the Ware Chargeing uppon an Enemey but on their near aproch the most frendly disposition appereed in all their actions as Well [as] gusters—by this time We Hed Some meat Cooked of Which the Willingly purtuck but Spareingly—as it after Wards appeered the Head plenty at their Camp and Eat With [us] out of pure frendship—amongst party Was the princeple Cheef of the Kiaways for these Ware of that nation—the Cheef With three others Stayed With us all night the others Returned to their Camp about Sundown

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[44] Apishapa river, now crossed by the railroad 4½ m. above the station Catlin, already named. Camp said to be 5 m. above this river. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 448.

20th novmbr 1821 tusday

Collected our Horses Early—by Which time a great nomber of the Indeans arived from Camp and moved up with [us] and crossed over the River Which Was fordable but the Watter Cold and the Ice Runing a little—our Horses Ware so loded that our men Ware all on futt but the Indeans took them behind them on their Horses and Carryed them over the River—from our Camp to the Indeans was about three miles West—[55]

Heare the Cheef gave up one of His lodges for the purpose of Store[ing] the goods—and took posesion and Charge of all our Horses threw the Hole of this day the Indeans Continu to arive and Set up their lodges—So that by night We Ware a large town Containing up Wards two Honderd Houses Well filled With men Wemon and Children—With a great nombr of dogs and Horses So that the Hole Cuntry to a great distance Was Coverd—this Scenes Was new to us and the more So after our long Jurney Seeing no persons but our Selves—the Indeans Ware frendly takeing us to the lodges of their great men and all Ways Seting Some meat for us to Eat. tho Some times Boiled Corn Beens or mush Which arteckels the precured from the Spanyards

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[55] This Indian camp, of which we shall hear more, appears from the indications given to have been on the N. side of the Arkansaw, a little over the border of Otero Co, about half way between Fowler's last camp and Nepesta, Pueblo Co.

Wensday 21st nov 1821

lay in Camp all day Eating and Smokeing With the Indeans—and took the Bareing of the mountains from a point one Half mile north of our Camp—High Peak N 61 W South Eand of Same mountain N 82 W Heare a new mountain appeers or is a Ridge in the forkes of the River North Eand N° 84 W South Eand N 87 W—N° 2 of the first mountains North Eand S° 87 W Highest Point S° 45 W—Heare the mountain takes a more Westwardly Corse and Continues a broken Ridge to a High point or Ridge and Stands S° 42 W—and falling a little lower and Continues to the forth mountains or double Peekes—Which Stands thus 4th S° 27 W 5th S° 25 West from this point We See no more of the mountains to the South We See large parteys of Indeans Comeing in threw the day and Seting up their Houses or lodges—

22nd nov 1821—

Remained in Camp all day Holding Counsels Eating and Smokeing and traiding a little With Indans—

the snow Has now Increeced to about 10 Inches deep and the Wind Extreemly Cold the River frosen up Close the Ice to a great thickness—and Heare in the Coldest mornings you might see Several Hundred Children Naked—Running and playin on the Ice—Without the least appeerence of Suffering from the Cold—the Highatans[66] amounting to about 350 lodges arived this day and Camped With the others We are now Incresed to a cettey—

friday 23rd nov 1821—

this morning a Councel Was hild amongst the Cheefs of both the nations and Conl glann With his Interpreter Was Sent for—and Was told by the Ietan Cheef that the Ware Readey to Receve the goods in His Posesion that His father the Presedent Had Sent them—But When He Was told that there Was no Such goods He Became in a great Pashion and told the Conl that He Was a lyer and a theef and that He Head Stolen the goods from His farther[67] and that He the Cheef—Wold take the goods and Segnefyed that He Wold kill the Conl and His men too upon Which the Conl and His Inturpreter With drew—the Çheefs of both nations Remaned in Counsel all day—and our Setuation Was not of the most plesent nature. the Kiaways Ware our frends But the others Ware the most numerous—the former Clames us their property and frens But the later We aprehend intend to use force and in this Setuation We Remained all day—the young Warriors Crouded Round us so that We Cold Scarcly Stir—about Sun down a tall Indean Came Runing threw the Camp Calling out—me arapaho Cheef White mans mine and Shakeing Hands With us as fast as poseble asked for the White man Captain and on being Shoon In a lodge Wheare Conl glann With the Inturpreter Was—He Rushed in—but Was out In an Instant thumping His brest With His fist saying White man mine arapoho Plenty Pointing the Way He Came—from [which] We soon understood that the Hole nation Ware at Hand and that We Head nothing to dred from the Highatans—Who began to disappeer from about us—and from that time We felt In Purfect Securety Haveing two out of three of the nation In our favour and part of the 3rd our frends—but the are all Sobordenet to their Cheefs—

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[66] Ietans—Comanches.

[67] James Monroe, then President of the United States.

Satterday 24th november 1821

a nomber of Cheefs of other nations arive In Camp—thing Ware [things wore] a better appeerence—We Sopose there Is now about 350 lodges—Some little traid for Buffelow Roabs for the benefit of the Hands on our arivel at this Camp there Was about forty lodges of Indeans—Kiawas and Padducas the Continu to Increes and last night on Counting them over find now four Hunderd of the following nations—Ietans—Arrapohoes—Kiawa Padduce—Cheans—Snakes—the Ietan the most numerous and the most Disperete the Arrapohoes the Best and most Sivvel to the White men Habits—but Heare We find some diffeculty in Councl With So many Indeans—and no Inturpreter But Mr Roy—He Spoke Some Pane and [in] that language our Councils Ware Held—the Indeans are Sartainly Ignorent of the Ways or Customs of the White man and Have less Capasety to larn then any Indeans I Have yet Seen—the Have many Wants but no meens of Supplying them—Haveing nothing to traid but Horses and them We do not Want—We have found amongest them about 20 Bever only the Early Habits of those Indeans Precludes them from makeing Bever Hunters as the Cuntry Which the In Habet Contains but few—and the Indeans Hunt the Buffelow

Sunday 25th novem 1821

We found Withe the Ietans a Spanish Prisnor Whome With great difeculty We purchased yesterday With $150 in goods and He In Joyed one night of liberty a Hapey Chaing from that of a Slave to an Indean—but unfortnetly—at day light this morning the goods Ware Returned and the Prisnor taken back to His formor master again—but

We Will Spair no means in our power [to] Releve Him again and Send Him out of their Reech this man is from the Southern Provence near St Antoni[68] With Which the Indeans are at War—tho at Peece With new maxeco and the Spanish in Habetance there—We Have been viseted by Some of the Spanish Indeans from maxeco the live in the vilege of Tows[69]—its Six days Easey travel from Heare—the are all Catholicks the Indeans Inform us that there are White men near the great [Pike's] Peak of the mountain on the River Platt—and three days Hard travel from this place—

on the night of the 23rd a Snow fell about one foot deep and the Weather is now Cold the River frosen up the Ice a great thickness and the Indean Children that is able to walk and up to tall boys are out on the Ice by day light and all as naked as the Came to the World Heare the are at all kinds of Sport Which their Setuation Will admit and all tho the frost is very seveer the apper quite Warm and a lively as I Heave Ever Seen Children In mid Summer I am shure that We Have Seen more than one thousand of these Children on the Ice at one time and Some that Ware too young to Walk Ware taken by the larger ones and Soot on a pece of skin on the Ice and In this Setuation kick its [legs] Round and Hollow and laff at those Round it at play—I have no doupt but that to take one of our White Children and Put it In Such Cold Weather in that Setuation it Cold not live Half an Hour on the 23rd four Ietan Indeans arrive With the news of Peace being maid With the osages by the Big Cheefs below—

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[68] San Antonio, Tex.

[69] Pueblo de Taos, N. M.

five days before our arival at this place a battle Was faught Near the mountains betwen those Indeans and the Crows in which the formor lost nine men and the latter fifteen—amongest the arrapohoes In this Ingagement there Was one young Warear that about two years ago Was Shot threw the boddey and all the Skin taken off His Head down to His Ears for a scelp—and in the last battle Was Shot threw one of His feet Which Is now getting Well—and on this [occasion] an alarm Was Raised of a War party apoching Camp When this man With His father Was amongst the foremost on Hors back to meet danger—but the alarm Was With[out] foundation and all Returned to Camp With[out] a fight

the Kiawa Cheef Reported to us that He Head ben In Council all day on the 23rd With the Ietan Who proposed to Him to Join In a War against osages and the White men—to Which He disagread—dureing the Hole of that day the Ietan manefested a very unfriendly dispsetion to Wards us—and the Princeple

Cheefs Informed us that When mager longe[19] Was there He told them that the Predesent Wold Send them plenty of goods and that the goods We Head Ware Sent to Him and that We Head no Wright to traid them but When He discovered that His demands Wold not be Complyed With Chainged His disposetion and Seems very frendly and this night offered Conl glann and Mr Roy Each one of His Wifes—the greates token of frendship those Indeans Can offer—but the offer Was de Clined telling Him that it Was not the White mans Habits

26th nov 1821

We moved one mile down the River to take a better Camp and Build a house and git of of being so Crouded—the Ietan and Some of the Kiawa threatned to stop us but maid no atempt When We Started. We maid our Camp With the old Kiawa Cheef Who moved along With us Heare We Have plenty of young Cotten Wood trees to Cut for the Horses—With good Setuation for our Camp—

27th nov 1821

Early this morning Was advised of thretned atack from the Ietan and the Kiawa and Padduce Indeans in Consequnce of our moveing from their nibor Hood

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[19] Major S. H. Long, whose expedition came down the Arkansaw and Canadian rivers in 1820. The "Predesent" above said is of course President Monroe.

Set the hands at Work Cutting logs to build a House —a Report Came that the Ietans Had mounted Horses to atack us—We Continued at Work on a House—and Was Informed that a party to Protect us Head met the others and turned them back—the Arrapohos about day light this morning Commenced moveing to us and by night from two to three Hunderd lodges Ware Round us as Close as the Cold Set up their lodges Which Seemed to afford ample protection from the others

between 12 & 1 oclock We Received a veset from the Ietan Cheef the first time He Came near us Since We moved He Was very frendly and and Efected to know nothing of the difecuealty that had Existed—We Have Heare now about seven Hunderd lodges of the nations mentioned on the 25th With the addicion of the Cheans—about two Hunderd lodges—We Sopose those Lodges to Contain from twelve to twenty pursons of all Sises—Some Horses Have been Stollen Every night Since We arived amongst them Seven of our own are amongst the mising a party of one Hunderd and fifty men Went In pursute of the theefs but Returned Without overtakeing them—We Ware this day much afected by the arivel of Findley Who Head been absent from us 30 days alone and on foot He informed us that Ware parteys of Pannees Ware both behind and before Him tho He seen none—

28th nov 1821

about 10 oClock a party of 200 men Started the diferent nations to Reinforce a party gon before them In pursute of Stolen Horses With orders to Pursu till the Caught them—the Indeans manefest a more frendly disposion and Intimate an Intention of moveing down the River In Consequance of the many Horses Stolen from them Heare—betwen 4 and 500 Horses Have [been] Stolen from them Since We arived and mostly from the Pens in the Center of the vilege surrounded by upwards of seven Hunderd lodges of Wachfull Indeans—the Ware Parties Returned Without Efecting any thing Except those on foot Wore the Soles off their mockesons—

29th nov 1821

the Snow Has Intirely disappeered and the ground dry as dust—

the Remainder of the War partey Have all Returned

on our Way up the River before our arivel at the Indeans Camp I broke one of the glasses out of my Specks—and on puting them on one day I soon felt the Hand of an Indean grasp them from my face He maid off as fast as poseble I gave up the Specks for lost but Head no moad of Replaceing them—In a Short time I Heard great Shouting and laffing and looking to See What Was the Caus I discovered the Indean that Head taken my Specks Leading an other With the Specks on His face the felow Was Led up to me and I was shoon that He Head but on Eye—and that the Specks Wold Sute Him better [than] me as the Head but one glass Heare Eanded the Joack the Returned the Specks in much good Humor amongst all the Ware present

30th november 1821

Pased this day With out any diffigualty Prepareing Some Hunters to trap in the mountains.

1st Decembr 1821

fine Weather nothing new—

2nd norr [Dec.] 1821

an alarm of the Enemy found two of the Horses Soposed to be stolen—the Ietan braught them In—the Hunters detained on act of an alarm—

3rd Decmbr 1821

Started the trappers under the Command of Slover—and With Him Simpson—maxwell—Pryer Findley and Taylor

4th Decmbr 1821

Fine Weather for the Season this day termenated Without any difegualty—the Ietan Cheef Sick Sent for Conl glann to give Some medeson but declined In consequance of His former bad Conduct

6th Decm 1821

Fine Weather the Indeans talk of moveing the Buffelow are now drove to Some distance and this I [is] not to [be] thought Straing as about one Hunderd of them are Eaten In Camp Each day Sinc our aRivel

7th Decm 1821

Fine Weather—nothing new to day

8th Decm 1821

the morning fine Weather the Indeans Still talk of moving but as yet Remain Heare—the furnish [us] With Plenty of the best of buffelow meet at a low Rate bu do not Wish us to Hunt them our Selves—aledgeing We Wold drive the Buffelow all off the Ietan Cheef Calling fore Some medecon a day or two back and find[ing] His Complaint Was not dangerous Conl glann gave Him Some Rice and Black Pepper With derections to boil and make soop of it—to day He paid us a viset Pufed up and Well as Ever the Arrapoho Cheef Says He Was Restored to Health by the Same medeson—

9th Decmbr 1821

Fine Weather Continues—yesterday gave notice that Some Horses Wold be purchased but none Has maid their appeerence—

### 10th Decm 1821

yesterday purchased one very fine Hors from an Ietan at a High Price—the Weather fine this morning but the Wind from N W no more Horses offered this day—

### 11th

last night Was Clouday the River is now oppen Haveing thad [thawed] in the those last Warm days—the Weather is now Colder

### 12th Decm 1821

the Cold Weather Still Continues but the River is not frosen up yesterday a War partey Returned the Ware of the Ietans—With 28 Horses taken from the Crows on the River Platt below the mountains—the Ware five nights Returning the Ietans this day moved up the River We Ware unable to by any more Horses tho We offered High Prices

### 13th Decm 1821

last night the River frose up the Weather is very Cold the Indeans determen to move up the River for Wood and meet We offerd to go With them on the 15th Which Satisfyed them very much and they offered us Horses to Carry our goods but unable to make any more purchases for feer We leave them a the [as they] appeer much atached to us

14th Decmbr 1821

the Indeans Exspect to meet the Spanyerds on the River above this place to traid With them this morning We Commenced packing up to move—

15th Decm 1821

the Indeans furnished us With Some Horses Which Inabled us to move With them up the River about five miles[71] West from our Camp and Heare Camped on the South Side of the River—but about one mile below Wheare We Camped the the Kiawa Cheef With His nation Had Stoped and Intended We Shold Stop With them but the Arropoho Cheef told us We Shold go to His Camp Which We Intend to do but Heare a new diffqualty arises as the Clame us as their frends—Which may lead to a Ware With them and destruction to our Selves but this Was Soon got over as two of our men Stoped with the Kiawa Cheef till He got in a good Hummor and telling Him that He aught to go With us—that it Was Him that left us and not We that left Him—With this He Was Satisfyed and one of the [men] Remained With Him all night and frend Ship Was Restored the Kiawas Came to our Camp as ushal—

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[71] To a position 2 or 3 m. beyond Nepesta, and about 5 m. short of Huerfano river.

### 16th Decm 1821

the man and load left With the Kiawas Was braught up and no difequality than the Refuse to Sell us Horses Still feering We Will leave them—but to day purchased 2 mules and three Horses from the Arrapohos

### 17th Decm 1821

the Weather verry much moderated Haveing much the appeerence of the Indean Sommer

more Sevelity Exsists amongst those Indeans than anny I have Ever knone it is de[si]rable on that accoumpt not to Camp Seperate from any of the Bands —but on the other Hand you are Continuly Crouded With young men and old begers—We yet Want about ten Horses—and all tho there is about 20 000 in our inCampment and the [Indians are] distetute of Every thing—We are afraid We Will not be able to obtain them the Arrapohoes Have but few in Compareson With the others owing to their Haveing last Sommer traided With Chians of the mesurey [Missouri]—the Ietan and Kiawa Have great nombers of very fine Horses—and Equal to any I have Ever knone—

### 18th Decm 1821

about ten oclock last night the Wind Chainged to the West and the Weather Exstreemly Cold So that We Cold not do any thing—We yesterday traided for two

Horses and one mule—the Kiawas paid us a viset and Invited us to a feest So We are frends again—

19th Decm 1821

the Cold In Creces So that it Is Imposeble to travel on the Pirarie—the Children Have now fine Sport on the Ice

20 Decm 1821

at day light We Ware alarmed by the Sound of Heavey bloes Struck by one Indean uppon an other Who Run towards our lodge and Was persued with the tamehak at about one Rod distance a blo Was Struck but the Indean Run Round our lodge—but Was overtaken and Receved a Heavey blow on the Back of the neck Which felled Him to the ground apperently dead—but but a nomber of Squas Interfeered and Carryed off the Soposed dead Indean and Saved His life—We find Him to be the Son of the Kiawa Cheef and first frend amongst the Indeans His murdorer Was the brother of the great Arrapoho Cheef and our frend and protecter We are now feerful of the most Seerous Consequences as We are not able to Say What may Happen betwen the two nations—as War betwen them Wold be fatel for us

21st Decm 1821

the man Wounded yesterday is not dead and is likely to recover—the Case of the atack on His Was the Steeling the medecen bagg of the other Who Was a

Cheef no other difequelty is apprehended as the bagg is Returned and axepted—We have Sucseeded in purchasing as many Horses as Will answer our Purposese of moveing—at night the Snow began to fall—

22nd Decm 1821

the Ietan Cheef Has not viseted us Since He moved up the River in Consequence of not Receveing Some presents He demanded on the day He moved but the Braves appeer friendly this four days We Calcolate on moveing on Crismus day to the mountains no Inter Corse betwen the arrapoho and the Kiawa for two days

23rd Decm 1821

We Informed the Indeans that on the 25th We Wold move to the mountains—at night Indeans Inform us of their detirmenation to move With us—

24th Decm 1821

promising to move the arrapoho determened to ac-Company us to night Conl glann Sent for the Kiawa Cheef and paid for the use of His lodge allso gave a meddle the likeness of genl Jacson Informed Him it Was not the medle of His great father but it Was given Him as a token of a great man and as the frend of the White men and Charged Him at the Same time that When Ever He meet the White man to treat Him frendly to Which He agread With great Satisfaction

25th Decm 1821

this morning the Conl gave the Ietan Cheef a shirt medle and Small presents With the Same Cerymones and promeses as the Kiawa yesterday last Evening We Sent for Him but being un Well and unable to Come He Sent His brother by Home [whom] We Sent [word] We Wold viset Him in the morning We found Him very un Well and discovered the the Indisposion Was the Caus of His not viseting us Since He moved up the River He Exspresed much frendship and Satisfaction—

the arrapoho move with us this morning.

It is but Justice to Say We find the Kiawa the best Indeans possing more firmness and manly deportment than the arrapoho and less arogance and Hatey Pride than the Ietan—we Ware In vited this day to Eat With one of the arrapoho Cheefs He Seet before us a dish of fat meat of Which We Eat plentyfully We Ware then asked if We new what kind of meat We Ware Eating We told We did not He then Said it Wa[s] a dog telling us it [was] a great feest With the Indeans—and that He Invited us for that purpose—

We move up the River West Eight miles and Camped on the South Side Crossing a fork[72] of the

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[72] The Huerfano or Orphan river, falling into the Arkansaw as said, opposite the station Booneville on the railroad. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 448, for this river, which is his "2nd Fork."

River at five miles this forke is Small and Heads to the South there is Some Cotten Wood a long its bottoms Which appeer to be very Rich and Wide Eknof for farms—the Arrapohos acompany us We Ware fortunate In parting With the Rest of our nibours With out any difequalty—We Have now in all thirty three Horses In Cludeing two belongeing to Peno one to Vanbeber two [to] J and R Fowler and two to Duglass one to Bono all in bad ordor—

26th Decm 1821

moved late In Consequence of lose[ing] Some of our Horses Which Ware not found till late In the day—our Corse South 70 West five miles [78]—We Camped on the South Side of the River to morrow the Indeans make a Hunt

27th Decm 1821

We lay With the Indeans to let our Horses Eat Haveing kept them tyed up Sinc We Started yesterday

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Among the mangled names found in print are Rio Walfano of Farnham, Travels, 1843, p. 41; and, most curious of all, Wharf creek of Long's Exped., ii, 1823, p. 59, where the innocent reader is informed that the Rio Huerfano "is called by the Spaniards Wharf creek, probably from the circumstance of its washing perpendicular precipices of moderate height"!

[78] From camp at a point given on the 25th as 3 m. above the Huerfano, to-day's 5 m. would take Fowler about 3 m. short of St. Charles river. He passes opposite the mouth of Chico creek, as duly noted on the 27th. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 451.

Pased a [Ghico] Crick on the north Side of the River its Corse is [from the] north—

28th Decembr 1821

We moved about 12 oclock and Went five miles up the River and Camped on the South Side Heare is the Statement of Conl glann on parting With the Arrapoho Cheefs[74]

I never parted with a man who showed as much sorrow as the chief of the arrapoho He persuaded us very much to stay with him one moon longer—stating to us the danger of having our horses stolen &c &c but finding in the morning we determined to start he made no objection; after giving him a medal &c as I did to the other Chiefs—and making a small present with all of which he was much satisfied when I shook hands with him to start he threw himself on his bed in tears—after traveling about one mile we was overtaken by one of his brothers, a young chief with a request to incamp on this side as his brother was starting to follow so as to sleep one more night with us we are truly fortunate in having those 3 nations with us—

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[74] At this point in the MS. the handwriting changes, Fowler's giving way to that of Colonel Glenn, who writes in a firm and clear hand. The reader will also notice the difference in the spelling and syntax of what now follows, to the middle of the account of Dec. 31.

29th Decr

The chief did not arrive last night as he sent us word—but early next morning an express arrived to inform us that instant as he was starting Two spaniards arrived and that a party of 60 were expected today with a request for us to return and see them—Mr Roy & myself immediatly returned, and rec$^d$ with as much Joy and satisfaction by the village as if though we had been absent for one year the friendship which they shew us before the spaniards will convince them that sho$^d$ the party expected be hostile we will have the friendship of the Indians and although my party is now only 13 men in all I fele no fear in meeting 60 Spaniards, with the multitude of the Indians

30th Decr

Yesterday at about 3 Oclock we went out to the Prarie to see if we could discover the spanish party—we discovered them about 5 miles distance, we advanced to meet them—when they discovered us they halted and formed to receive us in "military style"—we were requested by our Companion to Halt, when we were received on a full charge—To within ten paces of us when the men all dismounted and embraced us with affection and friendship—they are all creoles of that country—seem well disposed—possess far less sence than the Indeans we are with, seem happy and possess a greater degree of Joy at seeing us than could be Immagined—It is a matter of astonishment the difference of treatment of the Indians to them and our party—the Indians Commanded them as much as we command our negroes—At night the Indians asked us if we were willing to let the Capt. and his principle man sleep [in] the lodge with us, which we agreed to—the Indeans derected them to pray so that we may see their fashion which they readily agreed to and went through with the Catholic prayers, and afterwards prayed fervently for us—their whole trading equipment in the U. S. would not sell for fifty dollars—In short to describe them would require the pen of a Butler and the pencil of a Hogarth—They leave here to morrow for home and I intend to accompany them—

31st Decr. It is only necessary to Judge of them to say the Capt. and all his party were painted like the Indians the day they traded—and during the prayer the Capt. Caught a louse on his shirt and eat it—[78]

the Spaniards moved up to our Camp from the Indeans for the purpose of [selling] us Some Corn the no [they know] nothing about our moad of measurement but ask at the Rate of ten dollers pr Bushil the ask thirty dollers for a mule and one Hunderd dollers for ther best Running Horses—We Intend leaveing this With the Spanierds in the morning—

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[78] At this point Fowler resumes his own pen, but Colonel Glenn's story continues, apparently by dictation to Fowler, to the end of the entry for Jan. 1, 1822.

January 1st 1822

this being a holaday With our nibours We lay by all day—Haveing about two pounds of bacon Which I Head kept as a Reserve I Heare Shewd it to the Indeans—the Cheef asked What kind of anemel maid that meat When He Was told a Hog He Requested the Shape of it to be maid on the Sand When that Was [done] all the Indeans said the Head never Seen Such an animal and appeered to Wonder and think it Strange that the Head never Seen the like Soposing them Selves to Have Seen all kind of anemels—

I Heare left mager Fowler in Charge of the Camp With Instructions to fortify His Camp and Hors Peen to treat all Indeans frendly but traid With none—and shold War party Call to let them Have Some Powder ball and Paint With Some tobaco

on the 30th ultimo three of our [men] Ware Sent out to the mountains to Hunt for Buffelow and Ware meet by a party of thirteen Indeans of the Crowes Haveing With them about two Hunderd Horses Which the Had Stolen from

Some other nation and Ware on theer Way Home—the took our men Prisnors as fare as the River Wheare the took from them their Powder ball and Blankets giveing them nine fine Horses in payment for What the Head taken While this traid Was progresing the Horses Ware Crossing on the Ice—a Ware Party of arrapohoes over took them a battle Was the Consequence and Each party took off part of the Horses and our men maid their Escape In the Battle leaveing all the Horses the Head obtained of the Indeans—the Ware treated frendly by the Crowes and tolled the Ware taken only to prevent them from giveing Information to the arrapohoes—the Crowes Say the left the White People on the Platt about 10 nights ago and that it Will take them three nights to go there With their Horses Wheare the left the Rest of their nation—the speeke on the most frendly terms of the White men and Say the are about 35 in nomber—all the nesecery araingements are maid for my Self and four men to Set out in the morning to Cross the mountains to Santafee—"[74]

Jany 2nd 1822

this morning the Spanierds Began to Collect their Horses and load for their departure—Conl glann and four men Set out With them—leaveing me With Eight men in an oppen Camp With the ballence of the goods after takeing Some things With Him to Sell So as to pay their Exspences. We are now In the Hart of the Inden Cuntry and Emedetly on the great Ware Road—not only of one nation against the others—in the Road to all the Spanish Settlements With Which the Indeans on this Side of the mountains are at War—So that our Setuation is not of the most Plesent kind—We Have no meet In Camp —and Con Clude to Send two Hunters out With Horses in the morning to kill Some meat Intending to Set the ballence of the Hands at Work to build a Hous and a Strong Peen for the Horses at night

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[74] Santa Fé, N. M.—End of Colonel Glenn's story, in Fowler's handwriting.

Jany the 3rd 1822

Roas Early to Start the Hunters ordered two of the men to Prepare the Horses While the Hunters got Readey—but the men lay Still I maid the Second Call but With no better Sucsees—I then discovered that a mutney Was Intended—and Emedetly drew one of the men from His beed by the top of His Head. but [one] of his frends in the Plott asisted Him—and We Ware Soon all In a Scoffel. but Robert Fowler Soon Came to my asistance—and the bisness as Soon Ended—tho it Was Some time before the gave up their Intended muteney and five of them Seperated to them Selves and declared the Wold do the plased and Wold not be ordered by any other porson—I soon discovered that the Exspected the Spanierds Wold not let Conl glann Return and that they Intended to make the best of the goods the Cold—aledgeing the Ware the Strongest party and that the Wold pay them Selves—on Which discovery I told them that un less the Wold Return to their dutey I Wold send for the Arrapoho Cheef Who Wold be gld to asist me to take Care of the goods and that the might go Whare the plased—and that I Wold not Suffer them to meddle With the goods—the then Held a Councle and sent one man to tell me that If I Wold be acountable to them for their pay—the Wold go to their dutey and do What I ordored them—to Which I toled them I wold make no new Bargen With them —and that If the Chose the might go on With their mutenous Sceen—that I Cold protect the goods till the Indeans Came for Which I Wold Soon Send—the then all Came and Stated that the Wold do What I told them and Wold go to Work Emedetley—and asked me to think of them and Secure the pay for them If Conl glann Shold not Return Which the Espected He never Wold. and that it Wold be Heard for them to loos all their Wages—to Which I toled them if the Continued to do as good and Honest men aught that as fare as the goods Wold Reech they

Shold be paid—the two men Went out to Hunt but Returned With out killing any thing—now all Hands Went to Worke Willingly and by night We Head the Hors Peen finished and the Hous With two pens four logs High—Which maid part of the Hors Pen and the door of the Hous in the Hors Peen Which Was So Strong that a few Indeans Cold not take the Horses out With out Choping Some of the logs—and must Waken us all tho We Slept Ever So Sound—

Friday 4th Jany 1822

Went to Work Early got our House nine loggs High—and began to pitch the tents on the top by Way of a Roof the House Just Wide Enof for that purpose We Heared a gun near Camp two of the Hunters out We Soon Heared another and then Several others I took up my gun and Went to the plase Whear Robert Fowler Head killed two deer and Wounded Several more Heare We met With Ward With one deer and one turkey We Have now plenty of meet the first We Have Head for five days all Which time We lived on Corn precured from the Spanierds—

yesterday While we Ware building our House the Arrapoho Cheef and two of His Brothers Came to our Camp With one mule We had lost While With them—for Which I gave them Some presents—one of them Went to our Horses and Caught Hold [of] one Which Ward Head braught in a few days ago Which He Soposed the Crows Had lost—but the Arrapoho Clames—and I have no doupt of His being the oner—Ward derectly asked the Indean for presents Stating that I Head given them Some thing for finding the mule that He Wanted Some for finding the Horse—but this demand ofended the Indeans He Stated that the did not Cut off the mules tail to alter its looks as Ward Had don the Hors—and throing down What the Head Receved said the Wold keep the mule and that they Head lost three Horses and Soposed that Ward Head taken them all and that the other two Ware yet among our Horses and Went and looked—but Cold find no more—I told them there Was but one braught to Camp and that Ward Had don Rong to Cut the Horses tail—that He Head allso don Wrong to ask any thing I gave them up the Hors and told them to take What I Head given them—Presented the pipe Which the Smoked beged Some Powder and Bullets Which gave them—the are now quite pleased—Set off to go to their Camp Huging us all before the Start telling us the move Camp to morrow and Will meet us in the Spring on the River as We go down

Saterday 5th Jany 1822

three men Went With Horses on the Hunt of Buffelow but Returned With out seeing any this day finished our House and Packed in all the goods

Sunday 6th Jany 1822

Went up to the Warm Spring Branch[11] and Soot two traps but the Weather is So Cold I beleve the bever

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[11] Fontaine qui Bouille of the French, Boiling Spring river or creek, present Fountain river or creek, site of the city of Pueblo. This river is Fontaine-qui-bouit in Frémont, Fontequebouir in Farnham, Rio Almagre of the Spanish, and forms one of the Grand Forks of Pike. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 452, etc.

We must pause here to consider Fowler as the first settler, or at least squatter, on the site of the future Pueblo, Col., the honor of founding which is claimed by, and commonly conceded to, James P. Beckwourth, whose mendacity was as illimitable as the plains over which he roamed while he was the great chief of the Crows, and whose credit for the same was as high as the mountains in which his adopted nation lurked. It is true that Pike built at Pueblo a sort of stockade for the defense of his party, but this was merely a log pen or breastwork which his men occupied Nov. 24–29, 1806, while he went on a side trip to his peak. The structure was such as could be thrown up over night, and all trace of it speedily disappeared. But Fowler built a habitable house and horse-corral, which he occupied about a month, while his party were trapping, hunting, and herding their stock in the vicinity, awaiting the appointed time to take up the Taos Trail which Col. Glenn had already followed to Santa Fé. The site of Pueblo does not appear to have been reoccupied in any way that can be called settling, for 20 years after Fowler. Then the redoubtable Jim appears upon the scene: see Leland's ed. of Bonner's Life of Beckwourth, 1892, p. 383. "We reached the

Will not Come out—duglass in the Evening on driveing up the Horses Reports Some Buffelow In Sight the Hunters Will look for them In the morning

monday 7th Jany 1822

Went out to look for the Buffelow Seen them but

Arkansaw about the first of October, 1842, where I erected a trading-post, and opened a successful business. In a very short time I was joined by from fifteen to twenty free trappers, with their families. We all united our labors, and constructed an adobe fort sixty yards square. By the following spring we had grown into quite a little settlement, and we gave it the name of Pueblo." In so saying, this boundless liar tells the truth—whether by accident or design is immaterial to the substantial accuracy of what he says. We also read further in Inman, p. 252: "The old Pueblo fort, as nearly as can be determined now, was built as early as 1840, or not later than 1842, and, as one authority asserts, by George Simpson and his associates, Barclay and Doyle. Beckwourth claims to have been the original projector of the fort, and to have given the general plan and its name, in which I am inclined to believe he is correct; perhaps Barclay, Doyle, and Simpson were connected with him, as he states that there were other trappers, though he mentions no names. It was a square fort of adobe, with circular bastions at the corners, no part of the walls being more than eight feet high. Around the inside of the plaza, or corral, were half a dozen small rooms inhabited by as many Indian traders and mountain-men." According to Fitzpatrick, in 1847 the settlement contained about 150 men and 60 or more women, the former mostly Missourians, French-Canadians, and Mexicans, whose wives were squaws of various Indian tribes, together with some American Mormon women. On this subject see also Pike, ed. of 1895, pp. 453, 454, where an adobe fort is noted.

killed none—Went With Robert Fowler to the traps—Caught nothing on our Return We Went to the Washed Rock as We Called it Which Stands near the Bace of the Second bottom or low Hills the are about fifty feet Higher than the low Bottom and Exstend back to Some miles With out Riseing much Higher it appeers that this High land Exstended once Round this Rock and has been Washed a Way by the River the Rock is about ten feet Higher than the Highest land in the nibour Hood and in the neck of low ground betwen a point of from 5 to 7 acers nearly Squair—and the High lands back of the bottom—and In my openion the best Setuation In all this Section of the Cuntry for a garison as it is near Wood and Watter Which is in the River about 100 yds on the South West side of this table and about 50 yds from the above Rock Which [is] only asendable on the East Side Round on the top about fifteen feet diameter—a stone Wall is Raised on the margin of Such a Hight that a man may Sett With Safty from Small army in the nibor Hood and about twelve men might [illegible] With Convenence this Rock is about 400 Hunderd yds from the mouth of the Warm Spring branch Which is West from th Rock and Heads to the north its bottoms a bout ½ a mile Wide—a large River bottom on the South and West mostly Pirarie—the High Ridge Exstends from the Rock about South East—

this Crick Contains Watter soffecent for mills and With a long Raice plenty of fall may be Head—

tusday 8th Jany 1822

Went up to the mouth of the Crick from that to the Hill mentioned yesterday and looking up the River Seen the glisning of a gun barrel or Swoard blaid but Cold See nothin Elce Returned to Camp

Wensday 9th Jany 1822

my Self Robert Fowler and Jesey Vanbeber Went on Hors back to look for Buffelow on the South Side of the River at about one and a Half miles up the River We Ware Stoped by Vanbeber Calling to us that He Seen Seven or Eight Indeans on the Pirarie on the north Side of the River—that He Seen their gunbarrels gleson tho at about three miles distance We Returned to Camp Emedetly—and Head the Horses drove up and garded the ballence of the day—tho We Seen nothing more of the Indeans—I Exspect the Ware a War party looking for the Arrapoho to Steel their Horses and that the Head Seen nothing of us or the Wold Have paid us a viset—

thorsday 10th Jany 1822

Went out on the South Side of the River took Pall With me I went about three miles over leavel Loos

Sandey land to a High Ridge from Which We Seen one Buffelow about 2 miles beyound us—We Returned to Camp Killed nothing—the Hunters killed nothing—our meet scarce this morning Head the Ice Sanded So as to make a Road for the Horses fine grass on the north Side We put them over and Return them at night in to the Pen Whear We feed them With the tops of the Young Cotten Wood—of Which the are very fond

Friday 11th Jany 1822

Sent the Horses over Early. duglas to Hord them as Has been the Case Ever Since the Conl left us. one man all day With the Horses and drive them up at night the Wach by day is taken by turns amongest the Hands We Have now thirty Horses In Cluding those belonging to Indeviduels—about 12 oclock the Hunters Came In from the mountains Six in nomber the Weather Is So Cold the Cannot trap the Have Caught only Seven Bever killed Some deer Ealk and buffelow our Hunters kill one deer this day our Sperets are a little Raised We are now fifteen In nomber and this party bringing In With them Six Horses and two mules We have thirty Eight In all

Saterday 12th Jany 1822

Sent four Hunters With Seven Horses on the South Side of the River to the mountains to Hunt Buffelow and not to Return In less than three days Sent the Horses over the River to Paster—With Barbo to Hord them Who braught them all In at night

Sunday 13th Jany 1822

Sent the Horses over the River Dick Walters to Hord them—all Returned Safte at night—the Hunters not Returned—

monday 14th Jany 1822

Sent the Horses over the River With Bono to atend them—He killed one Deer and Braught it to Camp the Hunters Returned With Small Buffelow—the Head Killed Several old ones but the Ware Poor and left out the Horses all up at night

tusday 15th Jany 1822

drove the Horses over the River on the Ice as ushal—I then Went to look out a good Setuation for a new Settlement on the north Side of the River—Intending to move tomorrow Should no acoumpt Reach us from Conl glann—as We began to Sopose He Is now not at liverty to send or Return there being the full time Elapsed in Which He promised to Send an Exspress—and We think that a party of Spanirds may be Sent to take us prisnors—for Which Reason Intend makeing a Strong Hous and Hors Pen on the Bank of the River Wheare it Will not be In the Powe of an Enemy to aproch us from the River Side—and

Shold the Spanierds appeer In a Hostill manner We Will fight them on the Ameraken ground. the River Hear being the line by the last tretey—the Horses all up at night

Wensday 16th Jany 1822

moved Camp Early up the River on the north Side to the Spot I looked out yesterday—We Built a Strong Hors Peen and Put up the Horses at night—no Word from Conl glann—We begin to Conclude as Is not Well Him [all is not well with him]

thorsday 17th Jany 1822

Sent the Horses out to grase With Dick Walters to atend them Robert Fowler and my Self Each Shott one aughter [otter] on the Ice the Horses all up at night no Word from Conl glann We Intend building a Hous to morrow about one Hour In the night thirty Indeans of the Crows Came In to our Camp and Ware frendly Recogniseing the three men the maid Prisnors on the 30th of last month and Expressed much Joy to See them. and that the Head got Saft out of the fight With the Arrapohos—Stateing the Ware going to War With that nation We gave them Plenty of boiled meet of Which the Eat Hartily I gave them Some tobaco to Smoke—after the Head don Eating and Smokeing the Sung a long Song and all lay down and Slept tell morning—

Friday 18th Jany 1822

the Cheef this morning asked for Some tobaco Powder and lead for His People Which I gave Him With Which he appered Well Pleesed and gave me a Hors and I then [gave him] four knives—the Indeans begun now to move off—but takeing What the Cold lay their Hands on—one of our men lost a Pistle I toled [the] Cheef Who Returned [it] Emedetly—and Caused all to be Returned He Cold but Some of the Indeans Head gon before the artickels Ware mised on fellow Came In to my tent threw down His old Roab and took a new one—I took it from Him and toled Him to take His own—and on His takeing it took my Saddle bagg all So—I took them from Him and Pushed Him out of the tent—by this time one of the [men] Called out the an Indean Was going off With His Blanket I applyed to the Cheef Who followed the fellow and braught back the blanket—but the fellow Coming back Presented His gun at Simpson—on Which We Ware all Redey for Battle In an Instent but the Indean let down His gun Picked up an old Roab He Had left as it appeered in place of the blanket the Cheef then moved them all off before Him—but after the Ware gon Several things Ware missing amongst the Rest a Roal of large Brass Wier three blankets five knives a smelting ladle and Dick Walters Shot pouch and Powder Horn With their

Contents the Cheef toled me the Ware In Sarch of the Arrapohos Who He Said Head left [this] part of the Cuntry and gon to the South that He Wold Return Home to the River Wheare the White men Ware traid Ing With His nation and Stated that the Whites Ware Sixty five in nomber—the Indeans Have Eaten up nearly all our meet and We feel alarmed least the Shold Return—and Soon Set about building a Hous —nor did We let out the Horses till We Ware Well ashored the Indeans Ware all gone off—

We built the Hous With three Rooms and but one out Side door and that Close to the Hors Pen So that the Horses Cold not be taken out at night Without our knoledge We got the Hous Seven logs High and Well Chinked the goods al stoed a Way before night—two of our Hunters Went Some distance on the Indean trail and See two of them Sitting on a Hill as a Rear gard—and on our men Returning the Cold See three Indeans following them Some distance but least the Should Come back and take our Horses the Ware all drove Into the Peen and garded the balence of the day and all night—We now felled trees a Cross the Hors Peen So that it Was Imposeble for the Indeans to take the Horses out With out Choping them off and our door and Hors Peen door Ware So Setuated that [they] Cold not be taken out With out our knoledge as We kept two Sentnals all night and all the men Slept With their armes Readey beleveing the Indeans from the disposetion Shoon to Steell When the left us Wold Return at night and Steel our Horses—

Satterday 19th Jany 1822

Sent out the Horses Early and Bono to Watch them —the Ware all up at night and two Sentnals up all night We See nothing of the Indeans but Exspect them In a few days—the Cheef toled us He Exspected to Return In a few days and that We Shold move up betwen the mountains out of the Ware path that a great many parteys Wold Com this Way and Wold Steel all our Horses and take our goods to avoid Which We must go up betwen the mountains out of their Way and Whear there Was plenty of deer Elk and Buffelow and that as the White mans frend He Wold viset us there—

How Ever good this advice I Cold not Pursue it till the time Sott by Conl glann to Return Shold Run out Which Wold be on the 2nd day of febury—and if He did not come by that it Wold be becaus He [was] detained a prisnor—and then I was to go Whear I thaught best

Sunday 20th Jany 1822

the Horses out Early Ward and maxwell to gard them —Robert Fowler and Slover Caught one bever and a bever took off our trap Which appeers Was Swept a Way by the Runing of the Ice—I sott 2 traps In the Evening the Horses all up at night

Monday 21st January 1822—

I Caught one large bever this morning—and Slover a Small one—the Horses out Early—We are all most out of meet—and our Corn begining to be Scarce Con Clude to Send Hunters out tomorrow to kill buffelow Horses all up at night

tusday 22nd Jany 1822

I Sent off three men with four Horses to kill Buffelow Findley out to Wach the Horses Caught one Bever the Hunters Return at night but killed nothing found one found one mair Soposed to Have been Stolen by the Indeans found two Horses and braught them to Camp—Seen one other Hors the did not take Will go after Him to morrow Horses all up at night

Wensday 23rd Jany 1822

Horses out Early—High Wind and Clear—tho a little Cloudey before day light—the Hole of this month up to this time Clear Hard frosts at night the last ten days Warm the Ice Which Was Eighteen [inches] thick on the River is nearly gon and the River oppen —Caught one bever and lost one trap Which Caught a bever Which pulled up the Stake to which the trap

Was fasned and all Went off together—the Horses all up at night two of the men drove a Hors Soposed to Have Strayed from the Indeans—the men now begin to gro verey un Easey no Word from the Conl—He promised to Send Peno back in fifteen days it is now twenty three days and no Word We Exspect they are all prisnors—and that a party of Spanierds to take [us] will be Heare Shortly but them We Intend to fight and not be taken and not leeve our House till the month is out—and then go to Some Secure place in the mountains and Remain traping and Hunting till the grass groes So that our Horses Can travel a Cross the grand Pirarie and then make our Way Home

thorsday 24th Jany 1822

the Horses Sent out Early Simpson to atend them—Slover and Robert Fowler Caught one bever—the men maid Soap yesterday and this day the are Washing their Cloths four men out to try and kill Some der—Findley Caught one bever I am feerfull of sending to any great distance from Camp least the Spanierds Shold make an atack on us in their absence—and We not Strong Enf to keep them off—In the Evening I found one of the lost traps With a large bever In it the Horses all up at night no Word from the Conl—

### Friday 25th Jany 1822

the Horses out as ushal—Ward [and] Bono killed a buffelow bull Braught In Some of the meat it Was not fatt—taylor Road out to Hunt this morning Has not Returned—the Horses all up at night—

### Saterday 26th Jany 1822

Horses out as ushal—this morning a little Cloudy and looks like Rain of Which We Have Seen not more than Wold Wet a mans Shirt Since We left White River in october last taylor Returned—but killed nothing—the Horses all up at night two Bever Ware Caught this day—

### Sunday 27th Jany 1822

the Horses Sent out Early I too[k] Pall With me and Road up the north fork on the Warm Spring branch about three miles no Ice to be Seen Except a little on the Shores from Hear I Crossed the Cuntry to the main River a distance of a bout five miles and Struct the River a bout three miles above the forkes Heare the River Has all the appeerence of a Clos Hard Winter the Ice is Close and Strong all over the River down to the forks While below as far as We Have been for a few days the there Is but little Ice to be Seen and a long the Shores—the Watter from the Warm Spring must Shorly be the Caus—five Bever

Braught Into Camp this day the Horses all up at night—

monday 28th Jany 1822

the Horses out as ushal and about ten oclock two of the men Came Running In to Camp and Stated the Indeans Ware Cetching all the Horses—Which to us Was very unwelken nuse as part of the men Ware out So that We Cold not Spair men anof to fight them on the Pirarie—but In a few minets the Horses took the alarm and broak from the Indeans and Came Running to Camp—and Was followed by the Indeans. but Heare the Horses did not stop but took to the Pirarie and the Indeans gave up the Chais—and Came to us as frends—the Ware the Same party of Crows that Ware With us a few days back and that Head Stolen So many things from us When the Ware going a Way I Emedetly Sent Some men after the Horses and Head them Shet up In the Pen—In the main time treeted the Indeans frendly give them Some tobaco to smoke and boiled meat to Eat but Put all the men to Wach as We new them to be theves It appeer the Have been In pursute of the Arrapoho but Have not bee able to tak Horses as the are all Returning on foot—and Will take our Horses if the Can their Hole party is now Collected and the are twenty Seven In nomber that [is] three less than When the left us—the Say the Had a fight With the Arrapoho and killed five and I Sopose the lost the three mising—but now our men are all Collected and the Horses fasned up in the Peen We think our Selves a full match for this party—the then offered me Some Roaps in Exchaing for tobaco Which I gave them as We Wanted Some Roaps the Chief then asken me for Some Powder Balls Paint and virdegrees—I gave Him a ltle of Each think Ing that if I gave Him What He asken for the Wold not Steel—but in that I was mistaken for When the begun to move of the began to Steel but two kittles being mised the Cheef maid Serch and found [one] the other He Cold not find—and Said the fellow that took it Had gon off—the now appeer to be all Readey to Start—and about ten of the go to the Hors Peen and Exmen it and I beleve the Intend takeing all the Horses—I ordeared all the men to Stand Readey With His [gun] In His Hand but not to use it till I Shot first—my Intention Was to avoid a fight If poseble—but not to let them take our Horses—but after looking Some time Round the Peen—the Cheef Spoke and Said you aught not to Stay Heare the Indeans Will take your Horses—go to mountains out of this Ware Road—I am the White mans frend and do not Want the Indeans to take your Horses—He then Shook Hands to go off—and one of His Cheefs Stole a bridle and put it in His bosem—Which I seen I Pulled oppen His Roab and took the Bridle from Him the then moved off about fifty yds and all stoped and appeered to prepair for Battle With their Backs towards us—We Ware Ready for battle but intend[ed] to let them brake the peece first but the Cheef looking Round to us and Pointing to the Pirarie Called out tabebo [78] Which We understood to be White men—and Heare a new difecuelty presents its self—these Indeans are at War With the Spanierds and if that Shold be Conl glann With His party the Indeans Will Sopose them Spanierds and atack them—but to Prevent that two of our men Run threw the Indeans and Joined the men and Came With them up to Camp and the Indeans Receved them as frends it proved to be Peno and Some Spanierds Sent by Conl glann to Conduct us to the Spanish Settle ment Wheare the govenor and People Head Recd Him on the most frendly terms and thus our feer from that quarter Ware all Removed along With Peno there Was a french Indean or Half Breed that Spoke the Cro language We now Held a Counsel as our talk Heare to fore Was mostly by Signs. Heare our terms of frendship Was Renued the Cheef Stateing that He Hated that His nation Shold be Called theves that He Wold as much as poseble Hender them from Steeling that He Had Cursed them for

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[78] Compare "'tabba bone!' which in the Shoshonee language means white man," Lewis and Clark, ed. of 1893, p. 480.

Steeling but Cold not find the Kittle—Still telling us to go to the mountains and out of the War Path that He Had Hard Work to keep His People from Steeling our Horses—at the Eand of the talk I gave them Some Powder and tobaco—the Shok Hand and moved off—the Weather Became Cloudey and about dark Began to Snow a little

tusday 29th Jany 1822

Sent the Horses out Early the Hands to Packing up the goods So as to Set out in the morning for the Spanish Settlement agreable to advice from Conl glann We now under Stand that the mackeson [Mexican] provence Has de Clared Independance of the mother Cuntry and is desirous of a traid With the people of the united States Conl glann also advises me that He Has obtained premition to Hunt to trap and traid In the Spanish provences—

Wensday 30th Jany 1822

We moved about ten oclock and Steered a little South of the 3rd mountain over a level plain about ten miles to a Crick a bout 30 feet Wide and Runs north East and Heads in the mountains the Bottoms in this Crick is from three to four Hunderd yards Wide and Well Covered With Cotten Wood and Boxelder the Bluffs about one Hunderd feet High frunted With [stone] of a grayis Coller and to appeerence Weell adapted for Building—the Hunters killed two Buffelow Bulls—

S° 25 West 10 miles [79]

Wensday [Thursday] 31st Jany 1822

Set out about 10 oclock and at about two miles [s]truck the Spanish Road on our left Hand—which leads to touse [Taos, N. M.] Which We followed and at five miles fell on a branch of the Crick on Which We lay last night—the meet about one mile below our Camp—We kept up this Crick and out at the Head of it and over a low Ridge to another Branch of the Same Crick Which Puts in below the forkes of the other—We Went up this Crick about one mile and Camped near the Mountain makeing about 10 miles in all and a little West of South—the Hunters killed three deer and four Buffelow one of Which Was two Poor for use and two left out all night the Hunters being alone and not able to bring in the meet and it Was lost—deer is plenty Heare but Wild We Will Stay Heare to morrow for the Purpose of killing meet to load the Spare Horses—

S° 25 West 10 miles [80]

[79] From Pueblo, Col., to a point on the Rio San Carlos or St. Charles river, the creek above said, which is struck a little above the confluence of the Greenhorn branch. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 451. The San Carlos is Pike's "3d Fork" of the Arkansaw.

[80] Approximately up the Greenhorn to a point near lat. 38° N.

thorsday [Friday] 1st Feby 1822

Hunters out Early—killed one Cow Buffelow With In four Hunderd yards of Camp—but So Poor the meat Was not Worth Saveing—three Bulls killed this day and three Hors loads of meat Braught to Camp—two deer braught into Camp—it is now Sunddown and three Hunters out yet—this morning Was Clouday and the Snow fell about 2 Inches deep—about 10 oclock at night the Hunters Came In Haveing killed three Buffelow and loaded their Horses to Camp one of them Slover—got His feet a lletle frost Bitten—Conclude to Hunt to morrow as our Horses Can Carry more meet

Friday [Saturday] 2nd Feby 1822

up Early to Start the Hunters out—but I now discover the men are all feerfull of meeting With the Indeans as We are near the War Road and Have maid So much Sign In the Snow that the Will track us up and Steel our Horses Whill We are So much Scattered as not to be able to defend our Selves—and to

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The sources of the Greenhorn are several, flowing from the mountain of the same name (Spanish Cuerno Verde), 12,230 or 12,341 feet high, near the southern end of the Wet Mountain range.

At this date Fowler duplicates the day of the week, which throws him out till Feb. 9, when he corrects himself. But there is no break in days of the month.

be left Heare Without Horses—at So great a distance from Home—there is no knolede of What destress We might Come to—

I then Con Cluded to load up and move on the Road Which We did and on loading up the Horses We find seven Hors loads of meet We moved on about six miles along the futt of the mountains to [a] Crick [81] Wheare We Camped for Wood and Watter —the Hunters killed two Bulls this day but two Poor for use—the Snow is Heare about three Inches deep on the leavel Pirarie but on the north Side of the Hills the old Snow is more than one futt deep and up the mountains it is Still deeper—

S° 25 West 6 miles

Satterday [Sunday] 3rd Feby 1822

Set out Early about South along the foot of the mountains for about ten miles to a Crick [82] [and] about five miles [further] to Whar there the Remains of a Spanish fort to apperence ocepied about one year back—Hear We Camped [83] for the night Which Was

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[81] One of the sources of the Greenhorn.

[82] Apache creek, a branch of Rio Huerfano, arising with sources of the Greenhorn from the mountain of the latter name, and flowing eastward.

[83] Fowler's distances seem to me short, considering how soon he is to make the Sangre de Cristo Pass for which he is heading, and I cannot locate this camp exactly. But his approximate position is easily made out. He is about to round the southern

Cold and Windey—So that the two men kept out as gard With the Horses—Was like to frees—as We Have kept two men garding the Horses all night Ever Since We left our House on the River and Intend keeping them up till We Rech the Spanish Settlement We this day maid fifteen miles—

Sunday [Monday] 4th Feby 1822

the Wind High and Very Cold We set out Early up the valley [84] a little West of South for about two miles thence up the Point of a mountain and along a Ridge leave High Peeks on both Sides till We took up a High Hill and threw a Pine groave Whar the Snow is three feet deep—and at about five miles from Camp We Came to the top or Backbon of the mountain Which devides the Watters of the arkensaw from the Delnort Heare the Wind Was So Cold We Scarce dare look Round—

end of the Wet Mountain range, marked by Badito Cone, where the Rio Huerfano flows out to the plains; he will cross this river and enter upon the Sangre de Cristo range between the Sheep mts. and the Veta mts. His position is not far from lat. 37° 45'; place called St. Mary's in the vicinity. Fowler has come all along at an increasing distance W. of the D. and R. G. R. R., his route being the old "Taos Trail" which the Mexicans followed in passing from the Rio Grande in the vicinity of Taos to the Arkansaw at or near present Pueblo, Col.

[84] Of the Huerfano river, which, if followed up W., would take him into Huerfano Park, between the Wet Mountain range and the Sangre de Cristo range.

South 5 miles to the top of the mountain [85]

We then Steered more West down the mountain to a branch [86] of the delnort—and down that about South for nearly ten miles to Wheare the mountains are much lower Whear [we] Capted [camped] for the [night] We Hear find no timber but Piny and Roal Some old logs off the mountain for fier Wood—Dick Walters is mising and on Inquirey He Had lost His Blanke[t]s Comeing down the mountain and tyed His Hors to a tree and gon back to find them and that His Hors broke loos and overtook the Reer party at about four miles from Whare He tied Him the Hors Was Hear Caut and tied again it is now Sundown and no Word of Dick We are afraid He is frosen We maid fifteen miles this day—Walters got to Camp Some time In the night

S° 45 West 10 miles [87]

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[85] Making the Sangre de Cristo Pass, from the watershed of the Huerfano to that of the Rio Grande del Norte. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 492. It may be difficult or impossible to find the record of any earlier passage of these mountains by an American party, or indeed any previous itinerary of the whole Taos Trail.

[86] Sangre de Cristo creek, tributary to Trinchera creek, a branch of the Rio Grande. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 494.

[87] Besides the distance above given for making the pass to-day. Camp on Sangre de Cristo creek, which flows past Fort Garland into Trinchera creek, in the San Luis valley. That branch of the D. and R. G. R. R. which goes through the Veta pass follows down the creek on which Fowler is camped.

Monday [Tuesday] 5th Feby 1822

Set out Early down the Crick nearly South at five miles [leaving] the Crick on our Right Hand Came to Crick[88] Runing West With Some Cottenwood and Willows We Crossed this Crick Into an oppen plain[89] of great Exstent We Have now left the mountains behind us and on our left Hand tho there are Some to be Seen at a great distance on our Right and In frunt—our Cors is now South and Crossing a Small Crick at three miles and at twelve miles farther Camped on a Crick[90] 40 feet Wide full of Running Watter Some Cotten Wood trees and Willows We this day maid twenty one miles—South 21 miles

tusday [Wednesday] 6th Feby 1822

Set out the Sun about one Hour High nearly South along the mountains leave them on our left and pasing Some Small mounds[91] on the Right Which Stand alone in the Pirarie at fifteen miles Crosed a Small Crick[92] Runing West from the mountains a Cross the plain and In the Evening Crossed two more Small Streems Runing as before and at night Camped on a Small Crick at the lower Eand of this large [San Luis] vally Heare the mountain Puts a Cross the Plain to the River Delnort about 6 miles to our Right as We Have been going down that River at about the above distance Ever Since We Came in to this plain—on this Crick there Is a Small Spanish vilege but abandoned by the Inhabetance for feer of the Indeans now at War With them We this day troted the Horses more than Half the time and maid thirty miles nor did We Stop till In the night

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[88] Trinchera creek. Fowler seems to have left Sangre de Cristo creek at a point about 4 m. E. of Fort Garland.

[89] A portion of the San Luis valley, through which the Rio Grande flows for a great distance. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 492.

[90] Rio Culebra, next tributary of the Rio Grande from the E. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 494.

[91] The San Luis hills, on each side of the Rio Grande near the Rio Culebra.

[92] Rio Costilla, next tributary of the Rio Grande from the E. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 494. On reaching lat. 37° N. Fowler

South 30 miles—

Wensday [Thursday] 7th Feby 1822

We Set [out] at an Early Hour Crossing a Crick [83] Well adapted for mills of Ither the Saw or the grinding and plenty of tall Pitch Pine—We Heare proceded up the Side of a High mountain and Continueing alonge the Side of it the River Runing Close under the futt of it So that the Was no other Way to pass—We Continued over Ruff grounds and deet guters

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passes from Colorado into New Mexico. The principal landmark is Ute peak, isolated in the plain, a little south of the boundary and of Rio Costilla, on the E. bank of the Rio Grande, alt. about 10,000 feet.

[83] Apparently Colorado creek, another tributary of the Rio Grande from the E.

for nine miles to a Small vilege[94] on a Crick[94]—Heare We Capped [camped] in the vileg for the night—and our gides left us as Well as the Intarpreter after Shewing us Into a Hous as He Said of Honest People—and telling on ordors that I Had no money but wold pay in Such artickels as We Had the land lord Was verry Kind I obtained Some taffe[95] for the men as the Have not tasted any Sperits Since We left the virdegree He put all our goods in a dark Room and locked them up—and We lodged in an outer Room—the Inturpreter and guide promised us to Return to us Early—S° 30 West 9 miles

thorsday [Friday] 8th Feby, 1822

We Had the Horses up Early and With Some defequeelty got out the Saddles and Bridles—and then atempted to Settle the Bill but the Spanierd Ither Cold not or Wold not under Stand me I Soposed the amt about Six dollers—and layed ten Dollers Worth of Knives and tobaco—Which He took up and put a Way I demanded the goods but to no purpose He

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[94] San Cristobal—or the next village below, Los Montes. The "deet guters" of the text are the arroyos which Fowler intended to call deep gutters.

[95] See Lewis and Clark, ed. of 1893, p. 215, for a similar name of ardent spirits, apparently the same word as *ratafia*. What Fowler procured was aguardiente de Taos, a fiery fluid distilled at San Fernandez from native wheat, and soon too well known as "Taos lightning."

Wold not let me Have them Still Saying that Battees [96] told Him not to let the goods go till He Came now this Battees Was one of the men Imployed Heare and Sent by Conl glann to asist us over the mountain —and I began to ConClude that Some vilenus Skeem Was at Worke betwen Him and the landlord as He did not Return as He promised—but after about three Hours disputeing and Indevering to get the goods I Seen that nothing but force Wold do I Steped to my gun and So did Robert Fowler I told the men to do the Same—and [when] I Seen all Readey I Spoke loud Saying I Wold Have the goods and Shoing much anger—the Spanierd got in a better umer and gave up the goods—So We loaded and moved on Crossing a Crick Which Run West threw the villege Steered a little South of East about twelve miles over a High Butifull plain to the villege of St Flander [97]—In the nibor Hood of touse.[98] about two miles from the villege We meet With Conl glann at the Crossing of a Crick[89] Which [ran] West—on our a Rivel at the villege We mised one of the Hors loads of meet and on Inquiery it was found that one of the Spanierds Head taken it of to His own Hous at about three miles distance So We lost it there being no moad of Recovering it—He was one of the men Sent out to asist us over the mountains and that morning With out being notised put the load on His own Hors—and falling behind maid His Eskape With the meet—We Heare found the people extremly poor. and Bread Stuff Coud not be Head amongest them as the Said the grass hopers Head Eat up all their grain for the last two years and that the Head to Pack all their grain about one Hunderd miles—for their own use—We found them Eaqually Scarce of meet and Ware offered one quarter of a doller a bound for the meet We Braght in With us—but this We Cold not spair and Haveing nothing Els to eat it Will not last us long—and no Bread Stuff to be got Heare We must Soon leave this Reeched place—and now in the dead of Winter and the Waters frosen tite Exsept the River Delnort Which is Said

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[96] Baptiste Roy, the interpreter, who had gone on to Santa Fé with Col. Glenn.

[97] San Fernandez de Taos, the Mexican village about 2 m. from the Indian Pueblo de Taos. Gregg states that the first white settler was a Spaniard named Pando, *ca.* 1745. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 598.

[98] Pueblo de Taos, the ancient seat of the Pueblo Indians of Taos, consisting then as now of two casas grandes—great adobe buildings with the streamlet between them. Readers who would like a little local color here will find it well laid on in chaps.

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xiii–xviii of Garrard's Wah-to-yah. The youthful author witnessed the executions which followed the battle of Taos in 1847.

[89] Pueblo creek, the northern one of two main forks of Taos creek.

to be oppen to Which We Intend to go as Soon as poseble to Cetch Bever to live on as there is no other game In this part of the Cuntry—

Satterday 9th Feby 1822

Remained In the villedge all day and In the Evening there Was a Colletion [of the] men and Ladys of the Spanyerds Had a fandango in our House Wheare the appeered to InJoy them Selves With the Prest at their [head]—to a great degree—

Sunday 10th Feby 1822

Remained In the villege all day But Sent out two parteys of trapes to Remain out till the first of may next—Hear it may be Remembered that a Capten and and Sixty men of the Spanierds Came in from the arkensaw With Conl glann and little party—and now the Same Capten and party Has Crossed the mountaines again—but before He let [left] Home Has Interdused Conl glann and Mr. Roy to His family Consisting a Wife and two daughters both young Woman the old lady Haveing paid us a visid In the morning appered In a few minet quite formiler and as Well aquainted With us as If She Head knone us for several years tho She did not Stay more than about Half an Hour—But in the after noon a boy Came With a mesege for Conl glann mr Roy and the negro. Who after Some Ceremony acCompanyed the two gentlemen but With Some Reluctance aledgeing that He Was not Settesfyed to go With out His master aledgeing as the ladys appeerd more atached to Him than [to] the White men—that there might be Some mischeef Intended and uder those doupts He Went as I before Stated and from the Statement of those two gentlemen I Will Indevour to State What followed—it Is a Custom With the Spanierds When Interdused to Imbrace With a Close Huge—this Ceremoney So Imbareshed Pall and maid Him So Shaimed that I[if] a Small Hole Cold Have been found He Wold Sartainly Crept Into it. but unfortnetly there Was no Such place to be found. and the trap door threw Which the desended Into the Room being Shut down [for the Went In at the top of the House][1] there Was no Poseble Way for Him to make His Escape—now the Haveing but one Beed in the House and that So large as to be Cappeble of Holding the three Copple of poson—there Ware all to lodge to geather and the mother of the daughters being oldest Had of Corse the ferst Chois of Bows. and took pall for Hir Chap takeing Hold of Him and drawing Him to the beed Side Sot Him down With Hir arms Round His Sholders. and gave Him a Kis from[?] Sliped Hir Hand down Into His Britches—but it

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[1] Square brackets in the original MS.

Wold take amuch abeler Hand than mine to discribe palls feelings at this time being naturly a little Relegous modest and Bashfull He Sot as near the wall as Was Poseble and it may be Soposed He Indevoured to Creep Into it for Such Was His atachment to the old lady that he kept His [eyes] turned Constently up to the trap door—and to His great Joy Some person oppened it to Come In to the Same Room—But Pall no Sooner Saw the light [for their Rooms are dark] [1] than He Sprang from the old lady and Was out In an Instent—and maid to our lodgeing as fast as Poseble Wheare the other two Soon followed and told What Head Happened to Pall

monday 11th Feby 1822

Remained in the vilege all day nothin meterel took place.

tusday 12th Feby 1822

I Set out on a traping tower With Robert Fowler—Taylor Walters and Pall With Eight Horses We Went South West about ten miles to the bank of the River [Rio Grande]—Which Bank or Bluf Was So High We Cold see no Chance of getting down With the Horses for We looked some time before We Cold see the River the distance Was So great—and the River looked like a Small Spring Branch that a man might Easely Step over—and Head We not been told that the River Was In that gap We Cold not Have beleved the River Was there at all—We then Pased down a long the Bluff about two miles and found a path Way down the mountain—the Bluf or River Bank as you may Chose to Call it Which path We took but With great danger to our Horses and In about two Hours going down that mountain We got to the River Which is about one Hunderd yds Wide and is fordable With Horses—and now takeing a vew of the River I find it is at least one thousand feet below the leavel of Pirarie. and is bound With a bluf of Rocks on Each Side mostly Parpendickeler So that there Is but few plases that Ither man or Beast asend them—We are now at the mouth of the [Taos] Crick Which Pases threw touse Heare is two Houses With Each one family of Spanierds and it is not Poseble the Have more than Half an acer of ground to live on. and Shold a Rock Breake loos and Come down Wold destroy the Hole Settlement

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[1] Square brackets in the original MS.

S° 45 West 10 to the River

Wensday 13th Feby 1822

Robert Fowler and my Self Went down the River about Six miles on foot to look for Bever no Sign of any the River is So bound With Rocks that With much difequaty We maid our Way Heare We found a nother Small villege [3] With Eight or ten Houses and a foot Bridge a Cross the River over Which We Went and Heare We found a Path up the River Hills Which [were] full as High as Wheare We first Came to it But Heare the Rocks are So broken that a Papth Way is found up threw them after a long and tedeous Walk We a Rived at the top of the Hil and found our Selves on oppen leave[l] Pirarie of from forty to fifty miles Wide. We are now on the West Side of the River and Went up along the Bluf about two miles and Came to a dry Crick Which put into the River but the Rocks Ware So High on Each Side that We Walked up it about one Hour before We found any Poseble Chance of Crossing it after Which We pased over the leavel Pirarie opset our Camp [4] Wheare We found a path leading down threw the Rocks to the River and it appeers that there is no poseble Chance of going up or down these Clifts but at those paths—for as Soon as you Come to the top of these Clifts and look down you are so struck With Horror that you Will Retret In an Instant

thorsday 14th Feby 1822

Crosed the River Early and Wound up the mountain along a path maid By the Spanierds among the Rocks

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[3] Cieneguilla—to be distinguished from a place of the same name S. W. of Santa Fé.

[4] On Feb. 12, at the mouth of Taos creek.

till We arived at the top in the oppen World and Steereing to the north leaveing the River on our Right Hand and Camped at night opesed the villege Wheare We Head the defequeelty Withe the land lord We this day maid about fourteen[5] miles—and found no Watter for our Horses Sent two Kittles down to the River for Watter Heare We find the mountain about the Same Hight as Wheare We Ca[m]ped last night With a path up threw the Rocks maid by the People of the villege on the East side—
14 miles

Friday 15th Feby 1822

We Set out Early up the margin of the River about twelve miles to the point of a mountain Cut off by the River forming a parpendickelor Bluff of about fifteen Hunderd feet High—over this mountain We Head to Clime on the top of Which the Snow Was nee deep—tho there Was none on the Pirarie We Went four miles farther and Camped on the margen of the River Sent down two kittles for Watter and sot two bever traps—Heare the Rocks or Bluffs are a little Broken and not quite so High as Wheare We Stayed the two nights past—tho Heare they are about nine Hunderd feet High and So Steep—Exsept the Spot

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[5] See back, date of Feb. 8: 14 m. from the mouth of Taos creek would bring him about to Los Montes, but not to San Cristobal.

Wheare Sent down the kittles that a Squerel Cold not Climb them—our distance this day is Sixteen miles —16 miles

Satterday 16th Feby 1822

found one Bever in a trap this morning Sott the two traps again and moved up the River about Six miles and Ca[m]ped on the margen of the River the Rocks not So High as last night but So Steep that We Cold not git Watter from the River and melted Snow for that Purpose Which We found among Some Rocks We found some dry Ceders for fier Wood—6 miles

Sunday 17th Feby 1822

Very Cold Haveing Snowed a little In the fore part of the night Sent for the two Bever traps—the River Had frosen over them So that We Caught nothing—Seen two men on Hors Back at a great distance Soposed to be Indeans—the Road off as fast as their Horses Cold Carry them—We this day Seen Six Wild Horses tho two of them must Have been In Hands as their tails Ware Bobed Short—We find no game yet and our Stock of provetion Is nearly out—

monday 18th Feby 1822

We Sot out Early up the River and at about 12 miles Came to the upper Eand of the High Rocks[6] and going down a gradual decent three or four Hunderd yds Came to a low Bottom on the River the Bank being low not more than six or Eight [feet] High the River butifull and a bout one Hundred yds Wide—But all frosen up tite—We Heare got Watter for the Horses—it Is Heare proper to Remark that the River as far as We Have Seen it pasing down betwen the High Rocks or mountains—dose not move In a very gentle manner as It appeers much Impeded by the Rocks falling from Each Side. and is forsed forward dashing from one Rock over others In almost one Continued foam the Hole distance threw the mountains Which from What I Can larn is about seventy miles When it appeers below In an oppen Cuntry—I Have no doubt but the River from the Head of those Rocks up for about one Hundred miles Has once been a lake of about from forty to fifty miles Wide and about two Hunderd feet deep—and that the running and dashing of the Watter Has Woren a Way the Rocks So as to form the present Chanel—We this day Crosed a dry Branch. But Have not Seen one Streem of Watter

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[6] Fowler has come by his count 48 m. from the mouth of Taos creek, N. along the right or W. bank of the Rio Grande,

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which runs in a cañon the whole of this way. This distance is about right to take him past the several special elevations between which and the river he passes, known as Cerros Taoses, San Cristobal, Montoso, Chifle, and Olla; when he reaches the low ground of which he speaks, there are a crossing of the river, cattle ranch, etc. See Pike, ed. of 1895, pp. 597, 598.

In all the distance We Have Came up on the [west] Side We travled nor Cold ourHorses get one drop of Watter in all that distance but the Eat Snow When the Cold get it—We Went up the River a bout Six miles further and Camped on the East Side in a Small grove of Cotten Wood trees the Ice In [is] now so Strong the Horses Can Cross at pleasure—We find nothing to kill Exsept two of the Big Horned Sheep [*Ovis montana*] one of Which Robert Fowler shot but Cold not git it—

We this day maid Eighteen miles our Corse about north all the Way up the River—North 54 miles[7]

tusday 19th Feby 1822

We Set out Early up along the West Side of the River and at two miles Came to High Short Hills Which Put In Cloce to the River on both Sides and Continu for about three miles Wheare We find Wide and low Bottoms—Heare We See timber a Head Wheare We Will Indevour to Camp this night—and at ten miles We Came to Slovers party In Camped about two miles up Pikes forke of the Delnort and about three miles below His Block House Wheare He Was taken by the Spanierds—this fork Is oppen ocationed by the large Warm Spring Spoken of In Pikes Jurnal this party Has Caught Some Bever and their Is Sign of more in the River our Cors this day Was north 30 West ten miles—there is plenty of Cotten Wood trees and Willowes along this but Scarce a tree on the main River

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[7] That is, from the mouth of Taos creek to present camp—and this is about right for the vicinity of Ute peak, on the E. side of the Rio Grande, 4 m. S. of the boundary of Colorado (lat. 37° N.).

N 30 West 10 miles [8]

Wensday 20th Feby 1822

We moved up the River threw the Bottom Which is about fifty miles Wide In Cluding the second Bottom leavel and Rich and not a tree to be Seen Exsept a few along the River bank—We maid twelve miles. and Camped on the East Side among Some Willows and geathered drift Wood for our fier—the Weather Is very Cold the Snow fell last night about two Inches deep—Cors north 12 miles [9] See nothing to kill

[8] **Neither this course nor this distance would bring Fowler to the Rio Conejos from any point on the Rio Grande to which the previous mileages appear to have advanced him. The distance is 15 m. on an air line due N. along the meridian of 105° 45′ from Myer's or Colona's ferry to the mouth of the Rio Conejos; hence we infer that Fowler has come up the Rio Grande further than his previous mileages would indicate. But there is no doubt, from his description in the above interesting passage, that he is on the Rio Conejos; and 2 m. up it would be 3 m. below Pike's stockade of 1807, as he says. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 495 and following, and p. 595.**

[9] **Passing La Jara and Alamosa creeks between 4 and 6 m.**

thorsday 21st Feby 1822

Crosed over on the Ice and up the West Side of the River the timber and Brush Is now plenty In the low bottoms Which are from two to four miles Wide tho these are not all Covered With timber—and Hear there Is on both Sides What We Call a second bottom a little Higher than the first—the Hole now makeing a distance of from 30 to 40 miles now Since We Have Came to the timber We find much Sign of Bever—But the River Is So frosen that We Cannot ketch them We Camped on the East Side of the River and Conclude to go to the West mountains [10] In the morning and try to kill meet to Eat as our provetions are all gon—nor Have We Seen any kind of game Since We left Slovers party N 45 West 18 miles

Friday 22nd Feby 1822

Robert Fowler and my self Set out Early on futt for the West mountains and Steered for a Small streek of Brush Whear We Exspect to find Watter as that kind of Brush dos not grow With out We on the Way See Eight[y] or 90 Wild Horses and In devour to git In Shot distance so as to kill one to Eat—but In that

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from the Rio Conejos. One of these, probably La Jara, is called Willow creek on April 28, p. 135.

[10] The San Juan range of mountains, bounding the San Luis valley on the W., whence the Rio Grande issues into that valley in the vicinity of the place called Del Norte.

We failed for Whin We Ware at about one miles distanes the Seen us and all Run off—We Went to the mountain and Camped by the Side of a large Rock Wheare We [found] both Wood and Watter Was plenty but nothing to Eat Pall and taylor Came up With the Horses We all Went up the mountains to Hunt But See nothing to kill—but there Was Some Sign of the Big Horned Sheep on the Sides of the mountain amongst the Short Pine Which Is plenty Heare In Some plases—the Weather Is Cold and Some flying Clouds—our Corse Was this day West 12 miles—We Heare found by going up the mountain the Snow Was So deep We Cold not travel tho there Was little or none In the valey

West 12 miles[11]

Satterday 23rd Feby 1822

We Conclude to go to the River and up it till We find game—Pall and my Self take the Horses and Steerd north to the River about ten miles Robert Fowler and Taylor out on the Hunt—Camped on the West Side of the River—nothing killed this day—

north 10 miles [to] West Side of the River[12]

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[11] Fowler has fetched up against the San Juan range somewhere about the foot of Pintada peak, whence creeks called Piedra Pintada, San Francisco, and others, flow E. and N. into the Rio Grande. The above "large rock" is Hanging Rock on p. 126.

[12] In the vicinity of La Loma del Norte, Rio Grande Co.

Sunday 24th Feby 1822

nothing to Eat—Taylor Purposes to take Robert Fowlers Hors and Ride Hunting Which Was agread to He Went on the West Side of the River I Went my Self on the East Side up the River about ten miles to the Short Hills Seen Some Caberey but killed nothing Taylor did not Return at night—nothing to Eat but look at Each other With Hungrey faceses

monday 25th Feby 1822

this morning Taylor Came Into Camp on futt Haveing lost the Hors With Sadle Bridle Blankets nek Roap and all In the first Short Hills on the West Side of the River at Some ten or twelve miles up—and that He Said He Head Seen many deer Elk and Bares—to Which place We moved as fast as poseble and got there about 3 oclock Seen a great many deer but killed nothing—our Corse West ten miles

tusday 26th Feby 1822

all out and Hunt till about 10 oclock but killed nothing tho Seen Some deer—We now begin to think of killing one of our Horses—but first move to a fresh Camp Wheare We Have not disturbed the game and try In the Evening again to kill Something We move about two miles to the River—as We Were now Camped on a Small Crick[13]—and put out the Horses Robert and my Self took our guns to Hunt on futt as there Was much timber land Heare—but Taylor and Pall Began to Complain of Hunger of Which Taylor began gro black In the face and Pall Was gitting White With the Same Complaint and the both thaught the Hors Shold be killed. to Which Robert and my Self Consented and gave them liberty to kill Him as Soon as the Cold—but not Willing to See that operation Robert and my Self Went off to Hunt but We Soon Heard the gun fier that We Sopposed to kill the Hors—but We kept our Corse down the River on the Ice as the Brush Was thick and dry So that If We Went on land We maid So much nois that We Could not git neer the game—but We Head not gon far before Som deer Was Seen In the Brush and Robert Went after them and killed two of them He then Went to Camp for a Hors leaveing me to take Care of the deer—but When He got to Camp He found one of the Horses about Half Skined—but another Was Soon got up and the deer Caryed to Camp Wheare We Soon Head Suntious feest and much Plesentness now appeered Round the fier tho We lamented the fate of the Poor Hors—as now

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[13] **Perhaps Wolf creek, making down from Del Norte peak, or another in that vicinity.**

[we] Head no use for His flesh Which feel a pray to the Birds and Wolves

Wensday 27th Feby 1822

Sent Pall out Early to look for the Horses We Soon Heard the Report of gun and not long after Pall Came In With a deer on His back the first He Ever killed In His life—We Have meet plenty and the Weather Is now moderate Some Holes appeer a longe Shore In the Ice out at Which the bever Workes We Sot some traps this day—

thorsday 28th Feby 1822

Caught one bever—and Hunted for the lost Hors—but Have not found Him—

Friday 1st march 1822

Taylor Caught one Bever—Hunted for the lost Hors—met With vanbeber and two of His party the had found our lost Hors—the Remained at our Camp that night the Hors Head lost all but the Bridle

Satterday 2nd march 1822

vanbeber and His Party Set out Early up the River We Con Clude to follow them one or two days Exspecting We may find Some Elk—We Went up the [River] twelve miles pasing at Seven miles a large pond of Watter of about 40 acers on the West Side of the River—the Bottom of Which is about one mile Wide the mountains High on Each Side—the tops of Which are a great Hight above vegatation at about ten miles We Crost a fork [14] Puting In on the West Sid about one third as large as the River it appeers to Head to the West—Heare the River makes a turn to the north as fare as We Cold See up it—We Camped With vanbebers party the Head killed one Elk—our Cors West 12 miles—Heare the mountains Put Close to the River Which [is] very Croked

Sunday 3rd march 1822

I Remained at Camp Robert [Fowler] and Taylor Went Hunting the formor killed two Elk and left the latter to butcher them While took out Horses and braught them In to Camp

monday 4th march 1822

Went up the River to look for Sign of Bever but found none tuesday 5th march 1822

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[14] This fixes the position of the party exactly. This is the South Fork of the Rio Grande, above which the main stream comes S. E. from Wagon Wheel Gap, for about 12 m. to the forks. Fowler's compass points are here far out; the Rio Grande is flowing about E. from the forks to the plains; and the courses of the two forks *from* their confluence upward are, respectively, about S. W. and N. W.

We moved down the River to the first High point of Rocks on the East [north] Side at the Head of the large vally and about one mile below Where We killed the Hors—Some Snow fell last night the Weather Cold the River Is yet frosen up Close Except a few Springs in the River bank Which keeps it oppen a few feet—High Wind last night—

Wensday 6th march 1822

Sot Some traps—Taylor Came In late at night Reports that Some Indeans are Camped about Eight miles below us on the River

thorsday 7th march 1822

Taylor purposes going to the Indeans Camp I gave Him Some tobaco for that purpose—He Went to the Indeans Robert my Self and Pall Road out the mountains and on our Return We See a nomber of Indeans at Camp Which We Cold See at Some distance from the point of one of the mountains and not noing what Indeans the Ware we vewed them about Half an Hour—the then moved off from our Camp and We Came In—Wheare We found taylor—tho the Indeans Had Stolen two Buffelow Roabs Some lead and two knives—and Ware of the utaws nation [Utes] Which Roame about and live In the mountains Without Haveing any Settled Home and live alltogether on the Chase Raising no grain—Slover With His party Pased up the River this day—

Friday 8th march 1822

We Remain at the Same Camp—Caught one Bever and one aughter [otter] Ward and duglass Came to our Camp from touse [Taos]—and State that the Spanierds Have Sent 700 men against the nabeho [Navajo] Indeans—and of a battle being faught between Spanierds and the Panie Indeans East of the mountains

Satterday 9th march 1822

Ward and Duglass Set out for vanbebers Camp—In the Evening two Spanierds Came to Camp—Hard frost last night

Sunday 10th march 1822

Went up the River above the forkes to kill meet the two Spanierds With us—

monday 11th march 1822

We Hunted till 12 oclock for Elk but found none—We Continued up the north [fork] about Eight miles Heare the mountains Close in on both Sides So that our Pasege Was Defequal and the River turning to the West—We maid ten miles and Camped With Slover and vanbeber Partey the Have all meet Heare together—the Have killed two Elk N° 8 miles—West 2 miles [18]

tusday 12th march 1822

Robert and myself Set out Early to Hunt and Haveing been Informed that a Hot Spring Had been found up the Crick Which put In to the River from the West [south] Side a little above our Cam[p]—We Went to the Spring about one and a Half miles up the Crick—But the Smoke appeered like that of a Salt furnis—as Soon as We Came In vew of it—the Snow Was now about Six Inches deep over the valley of the Crick But the Hot Watter Head kept the ground Cleane for a few Rods Round the Spring—but What appeered Straing to look at Was to see Ice Exstended about three feet from the Shore over the Watter—tho a boiling up In the middle of the Pon[d] Which Was about three Rods a Cross and nearly Round the Spert of Watter Rose up Some distance above the leavel of the Watter In the Pon and Was about the Size of a flour Barrel—now the question Was How Can the Ice Existe on Hot Watter. I Caught hold of the Ice as I Soposed—and [was] not only Scalded With the Watter but the [was] Burned With the Ice it being nearly as Hot as the Watter—bout on a farther Examination I found it Was a mineral Substan that Had Congeled on the Watter of Which there Ware vast quantitys laying below the Spring In the Crick Which Run from it—We then Went up the mountain till the Snow got So deep We Ware obliged to Return—killed nothing—this forke [Hot Spring creek] of the River Heads nearly [south] in the High mountains—the main River Heading north[16] and from appeerence the mountains Seperates and be Comes Lower as you go up the River leaveing a large valley—and low Bottoms along the River—the two Spanierds tell us it is about one days travel to the Head of the River—the Cuntry is low a Crass to the arkensaw—about twenty miles north [west] from Heare and Six East [north] of this River there Is a large lake[17] or Bodey of Watter that Has no out let that there is Some Island In it With trees on them—the all So State that this lake lyes be twen the Delnort and the arkensaw and that the Cuntry is low all the Way betwen the two Rivers—

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[18] Up the North Fork or main Rio Grande, in Wagon Wheel Gap, to a point about 2 m. below the mouth of Hot Spring creek, presently mentioned in the text.

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[16] About W. from Fowler's present position, and much further off than the Spaniards told him.

[17] Santa Maria lake, about in the position indicated, if we make the required correction of compass points. This lake is 2 or 3 m. N. E. of San Juan City, a place on the Rio Grande in Antelope park, at the mouth of Clear creek. The road from the Rio Grande N. W. to Lake fork of Gunnison river skirts Santa Maria lake, and strikes the Lake fork at San Cristobal lake.

Wendsday 13th march 1822

We Heare left the two Spanierds With Slover as We Head Dick Walters at His Camp on Pikes fork We moved down the River a little below the main forkes and killed one Elk Wheare We Camped for the night —bothe the other partys pased us Heare and Camped about one mile below us—the Ice begins to thaw and all makeing for the Bever Sign—

thorsday 14th march 1822

this morning two of our Horses Ware mising—about twelve oclock We found them and moved down to Hanging [Rock] as We Have Called it at our old Camp—the Weather Has got Cold and the Ice Harder—We Will not be able to trap for Some time yet—We Heare find the flax [*Linum perenne*] In abondance the Rute Is purenal [root is perennial] but In Every other appeerence it is like ous—

Friday 15th march 1822

Remained In Camp—the Ice begins to thaw in the day time but Hard frost at night—

Satterday 16th march 1822

Remained in Camp all day—

Sunday 17th march 1822

Remained in Camp all day—

monday 18th march 1822

Some difequalty With Taylor He quits us or We leave Him—and move up a Crick to the South a bout four miles to Some bever Dams—Robert Fowler Complains of the Sore throat for Some days—and is gitting Worse

South 4 miles

tusday 19th march 1822

Robert is Still Worse With the Sore throat—We apply a sock With ashes Round His neck—He finds Releef in about two Hours—Hard frost this morning and Cold With High Winds

Wensday 20th march 1822

Caught three Bever and Examin the Crick about Six miles Higher up to Wheare the mountains Close In on both Sides there Is timber and Willows all along this Crick and the bottoms about Half a mile Wid and Well adopted for Cultavation on acoumpt of Eragation—as no other lands Can be Cultivated Heare for the Want of Seasnable Rains—

S° 30 W 6 miles

thorsday [Friday] 29th march 1822

We Have Remained Heare Waiting for the Ice to melt out of the Crick but the Weather Continues Cold and Clouday With frequent Snow Storms the Ice is

Still frosen over the bever dams So that We Caught but few—Robert Sore throat Has gon much better—We moved down to the River about 3 miles above our old Camp killed three gees—Sot Some traps—the gees is now Coming plenty and those We killed fatt Which is pleasing to us as We Have now lived a long time on Poor meet—Cloudey and begins to Snow—the Ice is nearly gon out of the River

Satterday 30th march 1822

the Snow is about four Inches deep Caught one bever killed one Sand Hill Crain [*Grus mexicana*] and five gees—the day is Warm—the Snow all gon out of the valleys but the mountains are all Covered moved to down to the old Camp

Sunday 31st march 1822

Caught four Bever and killed five gees—the Weather is gitting Cold

monday 1st aprile 1822

Killed five gees—the Watter frose over the traps Caught no bever

tusday 2nd aprile 1822

Caught two bever—and Remained the ballence of the day In Camp

Wensday 3rd aprile 1822

Caught one Bever killed three gees—the Weather much Warmer We move up the Crick to the Bever dams—find the Ice much thiner and Sot Some traps—

thorsday 4th aprile 1822

Hard frost last night and frose up the traps Caught but one bever We now find that In this Crick the Watter Rises by Suns thaw Ing the Ice and at night With the Hard frost so that the Rise and fall of the Watter will defeet the traping

friday 5th aprile 1822

moved Early about East threw a low [gap] In the Spurs of the mountains about ten miles and Camped a little below the Spanish Road leading to Pikes [fork. In the] gap In the mountain—We Sot Some traps—N 70 East 10 to the River[18]

Satterday 6th aprile 1822

Caught one Bever—We find the River as Well as the Crick Rises In the day with melting of the Ice for it Cannot be the Snow In the mountain the distance up to the Snow prevents the Watter from Ever Retching the vally the ground is so dry and loose that the Watter all dis appeers before it Can Rech near the futt of the mountains and Haveing Had frost at night the River falls as much as it Rises in the day—Taylor Came to our Camp to day and States that there are a great many Indeans on the River both above and below us that the Had Robed His Camp and taken all His traps but that He Had followed them and got all back but two traps

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[18] Text obscure, but intelligible if read as above amended. The trip was from the creek on which the party had trapped through a gap to the Rio Grande at a point whence the Spanish road led from the river down the west side of the San Luis valley to the Rio Conejos.

Sunday 7th aprile 1822

Caught one Bever and moved down the River about 12 miles on the north Side We Have killed twelve gees Since We Have been on the River last—

monday 8th aprile 1822

Caught one Bever—Killed five gees moved down the River to the lower Eand of the timber—the Indeans are all gon to the West over the mountains the Ware the utaws nation—

tuesday 9th aprile 1822

moved down the River about ten miles—and then turned East across the valley to a crick[19] and up it about five miles—this Crick Heds to the north as Is the Same We Came down Where We Crosse the mountains In feby last—We this day mett With venbeber and Ward—

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[19] Trinchera creek, whose Sangre de Cristo branch the party descended Feb. 4 and 5. See p. 101.

Wensday 10th aprile 1822

Heare Is Some Indeans from the Spanish Settlement—We moved up the Crick about ten miles lost one bever trap—N° 10 miles

thorsday 11th aprile 1822

Went up the Crick about three miles and found Some Sign of bever—Sot Some traps—We yesterday pased threw Some of the Richest bottom on the Crick that I have Seen and Contains Six or Eight thousand acers[20]

N 20 West 3 miles

friday 12th aprile 1822

Cold and Clouday the Crick frose up—We Caught nothing—We Set out threw the Pirarie down the Crick a Snow Storm Came on and Caught us In the Pirarie the Wind and Snow in our faces So that We Cold not See one another two Rods—this Storm lasted about two Hours and it Was Weel for us it Seesed for We Cold not See Which Way to go and our Setuation Was Realy unplesent—

We Camped near the mouth of the [Trinchera] Crick Wheare We found Some timber—

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[20] Vicinity of Fort Garland, Costilla Co., Col.

Satterday 13th aprile 1822

the ground is now Covered With Snow and Hard frosen—We Have not Seen one morning With out frost Since the Winter first Sot In—We Crossed the River a little above Pikes forke [Rio Conejos] and ConCluded to go back to the timber up the River for Which We Steered for three or four miles and Crossed a large Streem [La Jara] of Runing Watter forty feet Wide and nearly beley deep to the Horses—We Head Crossed this Same Crick In febuy last [Feb. 20] but the Was no Watter then In it it Haveing to pass over about twenty miles of oppen leavel Pirarie it Was all frosen to Ice—at that time and Is now melted and Coming down—the Snow Has disappeered In the valey but the mountains Covered—

[Sunday, April 14th—no entry]

monday 15th aprile 1822

Caught 2 beve and killed one goos We yester day Seen our Hors lost by vanbebers Party but So willd We Cold not take Him—

tusday 16th april 1822

Caught one Bever and moved up the River about four miles and Camped on the West Side vanbebers party pased us on the East going up all So—

Wensday 17 aprile 1822

Caught one bever and moved up the River about 12 miles the day Cloudey and Cold Comesed Snowing fast In the Evening and Continued till late at night—

thorsday 18th aprile 1822

the Snow about Six Inches deep We Caught one Bever and killed four gees—the day Warm the Snow all gon before night—

Friday 19th aprile 1822

killed two gees and Caught two Bever—Remained the ballence of the day at Camp—

Satterday 20th aprile 1822

Caught 2 Bever and killed two gees the Weather Warm the grass begins to appeer a little moved up the River a bout Seven miles Seen about twenty Elk Robert Shot one but it went off With the Rest—the mountains are Still Covered With Snow tho none In the valeys—

Sunday 21st aprile 1822

Caught two bever killed one goos moved up the River about Six miles Seen nine Elk—

monday 22nd aprile 1822

Caught two bever killed one goos and moved up the River to the Hanging Rock[21] and from that to the

[21] See back, date of Mar. 14, p. 126.

Bever dams on the Crick Wheare We left on the 6th Instent Soposeing the Ice Wold be gon out of the Crick—

tusday 23 aprile 1822

Caught two bever—the Weather Cold—no game Hear and the Bever Poor We Will move to the River In the morning on acoumpt of killing gees to Eat—

Wensday 24th aprile 1822

Caught two bever moved to the River and Crosed over to the East Side and Camped a little below the Hanging Rock killed one goos and one duck—

thorsday 25th aprile 1822

Caught one Bever killed one goos and moved down the river about five miles—

Friday 26th april 1822

Set out down the River Intend to go to the Settlement We are giting Scarce of Powder Haveing to Shute So much at gees for Want of larger game—killed two Caberey and one Elk—maid Eight miles and Camped on the East Side of the River—

Satterday 27th aprile 1822

killed two gees moved down the River near the lower Eand of the timber Seen many Elk the Have now left the mountains and Come Into the timber land on the River to feed on the young grass—

Sunday 28th aprile 1822

no frost this morning and the first We Have Seen this Spring—the grass groes but Slow the trees not yet Buding the ground is as dry as dust no moisture but the Snow Since We Came to the Cuntry and the Spanierds Say that It is three years Since the Have Had Rain—we moved down the River about four miles and Crossed to the West Side of the River and Steered South at about ten miles Crosed the Willow Crick and at about fifteen miles pased a Spring In the leavel Pirarie Which Contained about on Hogset of Clear Cool Watter Standing on Rise or mound of Earth a little above the leavel of the Pirarie the ground Round this Spring Was quite Soft and Wen We Ware at the Watter by Jumping on the ground you Cold See it Shake for about two Rods all Round —about five miles farther We Crosed Pikes forke at the mouth of the Warm Spring Branch Spoken of by that gentleman In Jurnal[22] We then pased threw Some low Hills a little East of South Seven miles to the River and Crossing over found the Watter up to the Saddle Sceats and one of our Pack Horses fell down with his load and Was not able to Rise So that We Had Some difequalty to Keep Him from be drounded We then pased over a low Ridge about Half a mile and Camped on a crick Wheare We found Some Woods—

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[22] At p. 502 of the ed. of 1895; see also my notes at pp. 495, 496, for this Ojo Caliente at the foot of the hill opposite Pike's stockade on the Rio Conejos. For the above named Willow (La Jara) creek, see back, p. 132 and p. 115, Apr. 13 and Feb. 20.

monday 29th aprile 1822

Clouday With High Winds Some Snow—We moved on Intending to Camp on a branch With Some timber on the East Side of the Snake Hill at twelve miles We maid the Branch but no Watter—We Went up the the Crick about Eight miles and there found it a Bold Runing Streem [28] Hear We Camped for the night makeing in [all] twenty miles We Seen Heare on this Crick a great many Cabery but very Wild

South 45 East 18[*sic*] miles

tusday 30th aprile 1822

Hard frost the Ice about the 8th of an Inch on the kittle of Watter Killed a Woolf at Camp—and Set out up the [Culebra] Crick to[ward] the mountains about three miles Whear We Struck the Road to touse [Taos] Which We took and Camped at the Hords mans villege but no purson to be Seen the Have deserted that place—about Sundown Six Indeans Came to our Camp the Ware of the apacha nation now at Pace With the Spanierds—the derected us to go off Emedetly Saying that the utaws Had Stolen three Horses from our men and that [they] Wold Steel ours if We Stayed at this place all night—We geathered up our Horses and after night moved off about three miles and lay Without fier—

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[28] **Rio Culebra, which Fowler first passed Feb. 5, on his way to Taos: see that date, p. 101. "Snake river" translates the Spanish name, and the "Snake Hill" of the text is that one of the San Luis hills which is near this river, on the E. side of the Rio Grande.**

Wensday 1st may 1822

We Went down to St flander [San Fernandez de Taos] in the nibor Hood of touse [Pueblo de Taos] and find Conl glann Is gon to stafee [Santa Fé] We Remained Heare two days vanbebers Party Head Came In and the french partey Is Heare all So —We now find all the Horses that ware left Heare very Poor and the Rainge near the vilege all Eat out I then ConCluded to take all the Horses out of the Settlement to good Rainge So as to fatten them or the Will not be able to to Cross the mountains on the first of June as that Was the time We In tend to Set out I therefore derected them all to be Collected and that I Wold move them In the morning.—

We Ware Informed that Spanish army Had Returned that they Hag taken one old Indean and Some two or three old Horses that Ware So poor the Nabeho [Navajo] Cold not drive them up the mountains—for it appers the Went up the Steep mountain and Role down the Rocks on their Pursurs So that the Ware Compled to discontinu the pursute—

Satterday 4th may 1822

moved up the Crick South about five miles and Camped in the forks near Some Hords men Ho kept a large lot of Cattle from [whom] We obtained Some Cows milk We took With us 16 Horses—all We Cold find

Sunday 5th may 1822

Went up the East fork of the Crick about Eight miles—find the Bever Have been all taken out by Some trapers—the mountain is High and Steep and Croud Close to the Crick on both Sides We Returned to Camp Wheare Barbo and Simpson Had braught Eight more horses makeing in [all] twenty four—grass is Heare very good—the Horses Will Soon get fatt—this Evening Cloudey With thonder and a little Rain the first We Have Seen on this Side of the mountain

monday 6th may 1822

Clouday and a little Rain—the Horses all Collected the are all poor but the grass is good and the Will thrive—I purchased a bull from a Spanierd for which I gave Him my great Coat and one knife—the Beef Was Prety good it Rained a little In the Evening tusday 7th may 1822

Cool With flying Clouds and a little Rain Battess braught taylors mule to Camp Which He Head Reported to Have been Stolen by the Indeans Potter[24] Came to Camp With Conl glanns Horse He Has Returned from Stafee—

Wensday 8th may 1822

Hard frost the Horses all presend Went down to the vilege—We Heare that the Congrass Has Convened at maxeco—and that the Indeans Have taken a great many Horses from this niborhood and killed Some Cattle

thorsday 9th may 1822

Hard frost In the morning and Rained a little In the Evening

friday 10th may 1822

Cool With flying Clouds and High Wind—our Horses all present

Satterday 11th may 1822

Some flying Clouds and warm In the evening

Sunday 12th may 1822

Cloudey With flying Clouds—the trees giting green the Cotten Wood leaves Half gron [grown]—the People not yet don Sowing Wheat monday 13th may 1822

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[24] New name, probably of some man who has joined the party. See June 1, p. 142, where James and McKnight's party join.

flying Clouds and High Winds Continues Cloudey With lightning threw the night

tusday 14th may 1822

Clouday and Rain threw the day

Wensday 15th may 1822

the Snow from 4 to 5 Inches deep—Clers up about 10 oclock and Warm the Snow disappers in the vallys but Hangs on in the mountains

thorsday 16th may 1822

Some frost In the morning but Warm after Sun Rise

friday 17th may 1822

flying Clouds and High Winds—

Satterday 18th may 1822

flying Clouds and High Wind

Sunday 19th may 1822

Cloudey and Warm for the Season

monday 20th may 1822

High Winds and Clouds—

tusday 21st may 1822

Clouday and Cool in the morning—High Winds about 12 oclock and Continu till Sundown—

Wensday 22nd may 1822

Clouday and Winday—

thorsday 23rd may 1822

Cloudey With thonder like for Rain—Clears off In the after noon With High Wind

friday 24th may 1822

flying Clouds and High Wind

Satterday 25th may 1822

the Wolves maid an atackt on our Horses the Wounded one Hors and two mules We Have maid a Strong Pen Close to Camp and Still Shut up all the Horses at night While We Remain at this place—to protect them from the Wolfes—

Sunday 26th may 1822

Clouday and Warm all day—

monday 27th 1822

Clouday With High Winds and thonder Several thonder gust With a little Rain in the night—

tusday 28th may 1822

Cool With High Winds and flying Clouds—Snow Storms In the Evening—but light—

Wensday 29th may 1822

Cool With flying Clouds We are now makeing Some araingements for our Jurney over the mountains Some few days back Robert Fowler killed two young White Bares and braught them to Camp

thorsday 30th may 1822

Road down to the vilege all Hands prepairing to Set out on the first day of June for the United States—Clouday With thonder in the Evening—Some Rain in the night—the Snow Still Continu on the High mountains—

Friday 31st may 1822

Cool With flying Clouds and High Winds—the Horses all Collected and Sent to the vilege Except Except those for Robert my Self and pall—We Will go down In the morning—

Satterday 1st June 1822

Clear With White frost We Set out Early to Join the party at the vilege Wheare We found all Ready to Start—all So James and mcnights party from Sta[illegible]ee Had Joined ours and all moved on together[25] East

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[25] The party start for home by a different route from that on which they came to Taos. Crossing the mountains eastward by the Taos Pass, they leave the watershed of the Rio Grande for that of the Arkansaw, and fetch out of the mountains on certain headwaters of the Canadian, as noted beyond.

In Gregg's Comm. of the Pra., i, 1844, p. 19 and p. 67 (quoted four miles to the mountain—and there took up a Crick[26] north 75 East aleven miles to the forks of the Crick Wheare We Camped for the night fine grass for the Horses—the timber on the mountains Heare is Pitch Pine Spruce Pine Hemlock and quakenasp the latter of Which there are vast quantityes. In the bottoms along the Cricks Cotten Wood Black alder and Willows With the Chock Cherry Black Curren [currant] goosbery and Wild Rose on the Hill Sides are Some Small White oak Brush from one to fifteen feet High and I Have Seen Some large Enof for a Handspike Every thing of the shrub or tree [kinds] that Bair frute is now In full Blume—the Choack Cherry is on[e] of the Handsomest Bushes I Have Seen and is now In full Blume—

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in Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 437), it is stated that a party of about a dozen men, including two named Beard and Chambers, reached Santa Fé in 1812, and returned to the U. S. in 1822. In Inman's Santa Fé Trail, p. 41, it is made eight years after James Pursley's trip that "Messrs. *McKnight*, Beard, and Chambers, with about a dozen comrades, started with a supply of goods across the unknown plains, and by good luck arrived safely at Santa Fé," where their troubles began; their wares were confiscated, and most of them were incarcerated at Chihuahua "for almost a decade." Inman agrees with Gregg that Beard and Chambers reached St. Louis in 1822, and notes that "McKnight was murdered south of the Arkansas by the Comanches in the winter of 1822," meaning of 1822–23. This McKnight is obviously the man whom Fowler names.

[26] Ferdinand creek; up this to its forks at foot of Taos Pass.

Satterday 2nd June 1822

Hard frost our Horses much Scattered this morning and it Was late When We Set out up the left Hand fork of the [Ferdinand] Crick

the Hills Close In on both Sides and at about four miles We arive at the top of the mountain[27] and Crossing over and down a small drean [drain] about two miles to an oppen valley about two miles Wide Which We Crossed nearly [at] Right angles pasing a Small Branch[28] about the midle of the vally Which Runs north a little West from this We Went up a small Branch betwen High mountains five miles to the top of the great mountain In low gap High Peeks on both Sides of us We pased Into a large plain a little Roleing With Some groves of trees—and Crossed Several fine Streems of Watter—and all tho We are on a mountain—the grass Is tall and to all apperence ther Has ben Sesnable Rains Heare as the old as Well as young grass is tall and I think from Every apperence this Plain Wold make a good settlement for farmers. and tho We are on a High mountain We are not one third of the Hight of the mountain tops We pased threw this plain about twelve miles the Watters Run Into grand Pirarie and make part of the Kenadean [Canadian] forke of the arkensaw—after pasing this Plain We Began to desend the mountain Which is now Well Covered With timber that is Pine Spruce and quakenasp Pasing down the mountain We found the Rocks very troblesom amongest Which We See a great many Indean graves. or large Piles of loos [s]tone throne up In Heapes —about dark We got to the fut of the mountain and about one mile farther Camped on a Crick of Bold Runing Watter and find our Selves once more In the grand Pirarie of the arkensaw Cors this day N 80 East 25 miles [29]—Robert Fowler killed two deer In the mountain

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[27] Thus making the Taos Pass, 8450 feet in altitude, and crossing to the watershed of the Arkansaw; but still far from being out of the mountains.

[28] Cieneguilla creek, running N. down Moreno valley to join Moreno creek, from the N., on which is Elizabethtown. The confluence of these two creeks, at the foot of Little Baldy peak, forms Cimarron creek, a tributary of the Canadian river. Moreno valley separates the Taos range from the Cimarron range, which latter Fowler is now crossing.

monday 3rd June 1822

Set out Early and at about Seven miles pased the Head of a Small Crick but no Watter there Is no appeerence of Rain Hear for a long time—the ground is as dry as dust the grass not began to Sprout and Every thing look like the dead of Winter—and Still more So When We turn our Eye to the top of the mountain and see the Snow Which Is Still In Sight—at twelve miles We Crosed a bold Streem[30] of Watter 30 feet Wide it Cors South East—and at Eight miles farther We Camped on the bank of deep Crick[31] about 20 feet Wide Runs South—on the low bottoms of this Crick the grass begins to gro a little Heare Is much sign of Bever—Corse North 45 East 20 miles

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[29] About E., over the Cimarron range, passing by Black Peak, 10,900 feet high, to camp in the plains on a tributary of Cimarron creek, a branch of the Canadian (not to be confounded with that vastly larger stream, the Cimarron *river*, which is a branch of the Arkansaw itself). Cimarron creek, after issuing from the mountains, and having been joined by Ponil creek on one side and Rayado creek on the other, falls into the Canadian river; on it are the towns of Cimarron and Springer, Colfax Co., N. M.

tusday 4th June 1822

We Set out Early leaveing the mountain on our left tho Some of the Spurs pass in frunt of us and Exstend Some distance to our Right those Spurs We Have to Cross—and the appeer Some distance a Head at twelve miles Stoped for dinner on a branch[32] 20 feet Wide Runs South much Sign of Bever—In the Evening We Went up the Crick Eight miles and

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[30] Cimarron creek, as already said.

[31] Vermejo creek, next considerable branch of the Canadian from the W. above Cimarron creek. It falls into the Canadian between stations Dover and Dorsey of the A., T. and S. F. R. R.

[32] The Canadian river itself, which Fowler appears to have struck somewhere about the mouth of Tenaja creek, from the E. This is in the vicinity of Maxwell's station, a noted place in the old days of staging, which I well remember, having arrived there at 5 p. m. of Friday, June 10, 1864.

Camped[33] Ward killed one Cabery our Corse this [day] North 45 E 18 [*sic*] miles

Wensday 5th June 1822

We Went up the Crick 10 miles and Stoped for dinner In the afternoon We Went up the Crick 3 miles and Camped at a large Spring the Spanierd tells us that If We go from this We Will Have no Watter to night Robert Fowler killed two deer and Ward one —James & mcnight party kill one deer Heare the men geathered Some Wild Ineons [onions]—

the grass is a little better than Wheare We first Came Into the Pirarie Cors No 50 East 13 miles[34] thorsday 6th June 1822

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[33] Position uncertain—see next note.

[34] It is impossible to ascend the Canadian river *any* distance on such a course, as the river is running due S. along here, after coming E. from the mountains. Fowler was camped last night at some uncertain point on the Canadian and on the present railroad line, which runs due N. through Raton pass, across the boundary between New Mexico and Colorado at 37°, and past Fisher's peak to Trinidad, on Purgatory river. But Fowler makes altogether too much easting for any such course as this. I understand, after careful consideration of his meager indications, that his "up the crick" so many miles means up the Canadian to the mouth of Chico Rico creek, a branch from the N. E. which, if followed up, would take him through Manco Burro Pass, between the Raton Mesa and the Chico Rico Mesa, to a tributary of Purgatory river; but that, having gone up Chico Rico creek to the confluence of its Una de Gato branch, he follows up the latter to camp at the foot of the Chico Rico Mesa. In no other way can we follow him "up a crick" continuously in

Set out Early up the Spur of the mountain and at about one mile We arived on a High Beed of table land about Eight miles Wide this land [85] is leavel and Rich the grass about nee High and Has all the appeerence of Haveing Had Seasnable Rains While in the low grounds on both Sides the ground is as dry as dust We pased on this High land one fine Spring of Watter We Seen two Buffelow and Some Caberey—

We Hear for the first time Seen the long Billed Bird [86] it is about the Size of a fesent and the Same Collor the legs and neck about like our Common dung Hill fowls—the Bill about one foot in length and about one Inch In deameter at the Head and Smaller at the point—We Crosed this plind [plain] and down the mountain to a branch of the White Bair Crick [87] Heare is good Watter and plenty of Wood—We Stoped for dinner—after Which We move on

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anything like the direction or to anything like the distance he gives; and that this was the way he went will presently appear.

[85] Chico Rico Mesa, a part of the general Raton plateau, separated from Raton Mesa proper by the defile known as Manco Burro Pass.

[86] He means the chaparral cock or road-runner, *Geococcyx californianus*, though he makes its bill about six times too long.

[87] That is to say, Purgatory river, at the mouth of which Lewis Dawson was killed by a grizzly bear: see p. 41, Nov. 13, 1821. Fowler had no name for this large river, excepting that it was

about 10 miles farther and Camped on the Same Branch[38] a buffelow Was killed and braught Into Camp We now leave the main mountain at a great distance on our left and the Spur to the Right Corse N° 20 East fifteen miles [19 by above text].

friday 7th June 1822

Set out Early and Steered for the point of the Spur of the mountain to our Right—at about 16 miles Stoped for dinner on a Crick Haveing one Hole of Watter—the Ballence being [dry] for some distance

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Pike's "1st Fork," and here speaks of it in terms which recall the tragedy.

[38] Chaquaqua creek, a large branch of Purgatory river, draining N. from Chico Rico Mesa. Crossing this mesa in the direction said, Fowler passes at 37° the line between New Mexico and Colorado at the same place that the Denver, Texas, and Ft. Worth R. R. does now—about long. 103° 53′ W.—and comes down off the mesa about 5 m. due E. of Watervale, Las Animas Co., Col. He keeps down the creek some 10 m. and camps on it, about opposite the westernmost point of the Mesa de Maya.

From this point Fowler makes a break, almost as straight as the crow flies, for the Arkansaw, which he will strike at Coolidge, Kas. It is a long distance across country, about N. E., with no exactly identifiable landmark till we stand him on Two Buttes; and his trail does not coincide, except approximately, with any road I can find laid down on the best modern maps. The nearest I know of is what is called the "probable course" of the wagon road from Cimarron to Granada, on the drainage sheet of Hayden's Atlas of Colorado, 1877; but the maps I go by are the later ones of the U. S. Geological Survey, 2 m. to the inch. It is a matter of special interest to recover this old trail as closely as possible.

after dinner We proceded on leaveing the Spur of the mountain on the Right—and then Steered for a Small mountain Standing By its Self and leaveing it on our Right fel on the Head of a Branch that Was dry We Went down that about five miles and found Watter In the night Some of the party did not Come up till next morning—

the Pirarie over Which We pased to day is a little Roleing but So dry for the Want of Rain that grass is not more than one Inch and a Half long in any place

Cors this day north 55 East 30 miles five miles Was in the night—[29]

Satterday 8th June 1822

We did not Set out till late Waiting for the three men that lay out—the arived about Eight oclock We then Set out and maid twenty miles—and Camped at a Small Hole of Watter that you Cold Smell 50 yds

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[29] A long lap in the open to a blind camp, and copy a little vitiated by some interlineation not quite clear. But we can follow the trail pretty closely. The "mountain to our right" is the general elevation of the Mesa de Maya, along which Fowler passes about E. N. E., crossing successive dry drains of tributaries of Purgatory river, all running to his left. Rounding the extreme W. point of the Mesa said, Fowler steers past "a small mountain standing by itself," which appears to be, by a singular coincidence, an isolated part of the general elevation now known as *Fowler* Mesa. Further on E. along the N. border of the Maya Mesa, is the better-known Mt. Carriso, capped by Potatoe Butte; the line between Las Animas and Baca counties cuts this

When Stired—for all the anemels for many miles Round Come there to drink—We Have no Wood and Burn the Buffelow dung to Cook We are now In the oppen World not a tree Bush or Hill of any kind to be Seen for When you take the Eye of [off] the ground you See nothing but the Blue Horeson Cors this day north 60 East 17 [*sic*] miles [40] Ward and McKnight killed one Buffelow Bull—

Sunday 9th June 1822

Set out Early over the leavel Smoth Pirarie We Soon See a mound a Head in the Pirarie for Which We Steered it bore north 30 East—We Crossed Several Watter Corses all makeing South East but all dry We Stoped for dinner at a Small mud Hole Whear We maid fire of the Buffelow dung and cooked our dinner We then moved on and Camped on a Crick [41] of of Clear Watter Whear there Was Wood and good

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isolated elevation about lat. 37° 10′ N., and long. 103° 05′ W. Camp cannot be far from the obscure place called Willow Spring, on one of the collateral sources of Two Butte creek—possibly at that identical water-hole.

[40] Passing from Las Animas Co. to camp at some indeterminable point in Baca Co., west of Springfield. From the degree of easting made, and what is presently said of the S. E. course of the dry washes to be passed to-morrow, I suppose Fowler to be among the numberless and nameless drains which make for tributaries of Cimarron river.

[41] Two Butte creek, at a point Fowler gives as 3 m. short of the Two Buttes whence it takes its name. Camp is still in Baca Co.,

grass for the Horses—the Buffelow killed this day Was two Poor for use and not Buchered the grass is Heare Better and there is sign of there Haveing been Some Rain Heare lately—

Cors north 30 East 25 miles

monday 10th June 1822

Set out Early and at three miles pased the mound [43] it Stands on the north Side of the Crick and about two miles from it I Went to the top of it Which Has two Heads about 70 yds apart Standing north and South of Each other and is about two Hundred feet High and about 300 threw the Baces the tops or Heads Consist mostly of Rocks Pilled By nature on Each other But Has been Some What Improved by the Indeans to make it aplace of defence as Well as place of look out—the Spanish name of the mound tewenna—from Heare We See another Branch [44] on our left and a Cross the main Crick another to the South all makeing a north East Corse—We Continu

but very near the border of Prowers Co. Fowler's "mound" above said is Two Buttes, a conspicuous landmark, the first absolutely identifiable one we have had for several days. The principal one of his several dry water-courses is Bear creek, that tributary of the Cimarron which runs past Springfield.

[43] Two Buttes, position as said with reference to Two Butte creek, and 1 m. due N. of the boundary between Baca and Prowers counties.

[44] North Butte creek, principal fork of Two Butte creek.

on twelve miles and Stoped for dinner on the left Hand forke and at Eight miles further Camped[44] on the main Crick a little above the forkes the Chanel is Heare about 60 yds Wide and We Have to dig Holes In the Sand to get Watter there being none above ground—Eaight Buffelow Was killed this day—
our Corse N° 55 East 20 miles

tusday 11th June 1822

Set out Early Crosing the Crick and leaveing it on our left Hand Steered north 55 East at fifteen miles We See the valley of the arkensaw and on looking [back] We Can See the mound in full vew—at twenty miles stoped for diner on the arkensaw[45]—at an Island Covered With timber and some trees on the South Side of the River there Is Sevral Islands Heare Some Covered With Willow about one mile below the Island there is an old large Cotten Wood tree Stands on a point of High land—Cheefly Composed of gravel our Corse north 55 East 20 miles

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[44] On Two Butte creek, a little above the confluence of North Butte creek, having passed from Baca Co. into Prowers Co. when opposite the Two Buttes. If he had kept on a little further, about 4 m. below the forks, he would have reached Butte Springs, and need not have dug for water.

[45] Striking the Arkansaw about opposite Coolidge, in Kansas near the border of Colorado. Camp of Nov. 4, 1821, which Fowler presently mentions, was a mile lower down. As he says on Nov. 5 that he went 9 m. to reach "a large crick" (Two Butte creek), he appears to have struck the Arkansaw 8 m. below that creek—*i. e.*, about opposite Coolidge, as just said.

11th June [continued.]

after dinner We proceded down the River ten miles and Camped [46] on the Bank In a grove of trees opeset an Island—the Sand Hills lay South of Camp With Some Cotten Wood trees on them—We pased the Camp Wheare We Slept on the fourth of november [1821] about one mile below Wheare We Struck the River to day—

Wensday 12th June 1822

We Set out at the ushal time down the River and pasing the Camp at the Bever Sign Where We lay on the 3rd of november last Continu to the Point of Rocks and Hoop Wood trees—Wheare a party of Indeans appeered on Hors back on the opeset Side of the River—We Hailed them the answered but Wold not Come a Cross—We then Camped for the night—the Indeans moved off and Soon after a party of White men appeered on the Same Side one of them Came over to our Camp this Was Conl Cooppers [47] party from Boons lick [47] on their Way to the Spanish Settlement With Some goods and Some traps to take Bever

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[46] Vicinity of Syracuse, Hamilton Co., Kas.

[47] No doubt Braxton Cooper, from Daniel Boone's salt works, which were about 4 m. from Franklin, Mo. See Lewis and Clark, ed. of 1893, p. 18, and Pike, ed. of 1895, pp. 367, 570.

thorsday 13th June 1822

Set out Early pasing the french Camp at five miles and Stoped for dinner at the Island Wheare We lodged on the 30th of october last then moved down the River about ten miles Camped on an Island makeing 30 miles—

Friday 14th June 1822

moved on Early and Pased our Camp of the 29th octobr last—and all So pased the Camp of the 28th and Camped opeset to an Island Wheare We Sent the Horses for the night—this day James and party left us and Commenced Crossing the River about 12 oclock takeing three of our Party With them—that Was duglas Priar and [illegible [48]]—maid 25 miles

Satterday 15th June 1822

moved at Sun Rise down the River fifteen miles and Comenced Crossing for Which purpose We used the green Hide of a buffelow Bull by Way of a boat—Heare are Some thousands of Buffelow to be Seen at one vew—I beleve We Have not been out of Sight of Buffelow Since We Came to the River Except in the night and When darke So that the Hunters Have Killed When the plased—We got on the north Side of the River and While We Ware Sadling up the Horses James and party pased us. it may be Remarked Heare that the River Was little more than Belly deep to the Horses. But for feer of the quick Sand it Was thaught best take all the Bagage over In the Boat and Send the Horses over Enty [empty] Waiding the River our Selves and drag the boat Wheare the Watter at times Was not more than Six Inches deep—as Soon as We Ware Readey We moved on Six miles pasing findleys Island[49] and Camped about Half a mile below James and party—

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[48] George Douglas, Nathaniel Pryor, and one unidentifiable man. The blind word looks like "Rohland" or "Soulard," but is nothing like any name previously occurring in this MS. It must be that of some man who joined the party at Taos, or else the missing Christian name of one of the party mustered on p 4.

Sunday 16th June 1822

James and Party pased us Early down the River We Steered a little north of East to Cut off a bend of the River[50] makeing 25 miles and lay In Sight of the timber on the River large droves of Buffelow all day In Sight duglas and Prior Join us to day monday 17th June 1822

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[49] Unidentified—named for one of the party. See back, Oct. 22, p. 26.

[50] Hitherto Fowler has retraced his steps down the Arkansaw, and the points passed are easily reckoned by back references. But here he leaves the river to cut off the large bend it makes in sweeping past Ford, where Mulberry creek comes in. For this "dry route" see Pike, ed. of 1895, pp. 433, 434.

moved on Early maid 25 miles and camped on the West Side of Buffelow [Coon] Creek at the Same place Wheare We Camped on the We Camped on the 21st of octobr last—James and Party Camp Close to us—Heare We Sopose We Cold See at one time ten thousand Buffelow

tusday 18th June 1822

We Comenced Crossing the Crick Early it being about mid Side deep to the Horses and the Banks Steep and mudey the men Waided and Carryed over all the Packs and then led or drove the Horses a Cross—We then moved on about Eight miles and meet With Some Pawne Indeans—With Home [whom] We Camped—there Was With them one of the Ietan Cheefs Who Stated that He Was lately from Was[h]ington Cetey—In the Corse of the Evening the Indeans Collected to the nomber of from four to five Hunderd—it is Hear proper to mention that Capt James Had two Spanierds With Him and that Conl glann Head two all So—but the last two Ware dresed like our Selves—but James Spanierds Wore their own Clothing and Ware Challenged by the Indeans as their Enemeys—a Councel Was Held Which lasted about two Hours the Inquirey Was Whether these men Ware Spanierds if so the must be killed as Ietan

Cheef Insisted the Ware Spanierds and must be killed but the Pawne Cheef Refused to Have them killed till He new the Ware Spanierds the two men Ware Sot In the midle of the Councel and there Interageted but maid no answer leting on that the did not no What Was Said to them—to Which the had ben advised before they Ware takeing In to the Councel most of those Indeans understand the Spanish language but Cold not git one Word from the men the then asked Mr Roy the Inturpurter If those men Ware not Spanierds He told the Indeans He did not kno Who the Ware that He Cold not Speeke their langage to Which the Ietan Cheef Replyed you do not kno thim you kno How to gave them Horses and Can tell them How to Ride and yet you Can not Spapke to them Which is a little Strange How do you git them to Eat or Whare did you git them We See them Ride on your Horses—to Which mr Roy answers as followes—for it is Hear now be Com nesceery to fib a little—that about two days back We met a party of White men going up the River and that those men Ware With them that the Ware from St lewis and Wanted to go back and Had Come this far With us that We Head Some Spare Horses and that the Had got on and Road—the Pawne Cheef then Said that Some four or five years back He Had Seen Some English men and french men together and the

Cold not talk to Each other that maybe those Ware English men—to Which Mr Roy answered that He Cold not talk English and did not kno these men—and So the Councel Ended the two Spanierds Pased for English men tho the Ware nearly as Black as pall—but at all Events the Ware Blacker than the Indeans them Selves—

We are now on the Crick noted on the 20th of october last [Pawnee fork.]—We Remained Heare all night but In the Evening the Indeans [s]tole all the neck Roaps of our Horses—We then took the lash Roaps and tyed up the Horses the Pawne Cheef Slept In our Camp—and after Some presents of knives from Conl glann and Hors from Capt James We Head lev to proced as Soon as We pleased In the morning—

Wensday 19th June 1822

We Set out Early the Indeans appeer frendly—We moved on about five miles and looking behind We See the Indeans Runing after us—and all tho We drove the Horses In a trot the Will overtake us In a few minets—We Conclude it best to Stop and let them Come up Which Was done—We Stood prepaired for Battle But Will Receve them frendly if We Can—now the Inturpreter prepaired a pipe and offered them a Smoke as the Came up Which the all axcepted of and looking amongest [us] asked Wheare the two men Ware Which the Soposed to be Spanierds and Ware Shone them—the then Went and Shook Hands With us all pointed us the Road Which We took and the Indeans Went Back the Ware fourteen In nomber—We then pushed on to the Pawne River [51] Wheare Crossed and Stoped for dinner Heare is large Hords of Buffelow one Cow Was Killed and braught In to Camp—We moved on In the afternoon and Went nineteen miles makeing 39 miles and Camped [52] on the River Bank the[n] We traveled Some time In the night for feer the Indeans Will follow and steel our Horses—James and His party did not Come up—

thorsday 20th June 1822

We Set out Early and Steered north 60 East Intending to go Close to the South Side of the Sand Hills as We Cannot travel threw them We Ware detained about two Hours By a Storm of Hail and Rain after Which We Went to a Crick [53] Wheare We found

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[51] Of our author=Walnut creek, near Great Bend: see back, notes at p. 22 and p. 23.

[52] Vicinity of Raymond, Rice Co.

[53] Cow creek or one of its branches; vicinity of Lyons, seat of Rice Co.

Fowler has left the Arkansaw and taken up a devious 'cross country route, which is to bring him through Kansas into Missouri near Kansas City and so on through Independence, Mo., to Fort

Some drift Wood and Camped for the night makeing 20 miles N° 60 East James and party Bore off to the Right down the River—

Friday 21st June 1822

Sot out late Some of our Horses Had gon a great distance from Camp—We Pased Close to the Sand Hills pasing several fine Springs Runing out of them to the South and In the Evening Camped on the little arkensaw—We Seen James and partey this day at a great distance to our Right makeing down the [Arkansaw] River the Cuntry threw Which We pased this day is leavel and Rich the grass tall and Has all the appeerence of Seasnable Rains. We Have In our openion layed down the Pawne River [=Walnut cr.]

Osage, on the Missouri river. In 1822 the road which soon became the long famous Santa Fé caravan route from Independence to the great bend of the Arkansaw was hardly established. This went through Council Grove, by the most direct way which the traders found it convenient to take. For an examination of this route see Pike, ed. of 1895, pp. 517-522. It is interesting to note, as showing that no such route as this had become established and well known when Fowler went through, that he deviates widely from what would have been his most direct and in every way most eligible line of march. As we recover his trail we shall find it to be one now unknown, looping far to the S. into Butler Co., then passing heads of the Verdigris, crossing the Neosho below the mouth of the Cottonwood, and so on eastward with the requisite northing. I regard the trail we now take up as something of an unexpected discovery.

as the line betwen the Wet and dry Weather or the long and Short grass—
maid 30 miles north [*read* south] 60 East [54]

Satterday 22nd June 1822

We Set out Early Crossing Several Branches [55] all Running to the Right We Camped on a Branch of White River [56] about 20 feet Wide With High Banks

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[54] From any position in which last night's camp can have been, it is impossible to bring Fowler to the Little Arkansaw on any such course as *N.* 60° E. 30 miles. That course and distance would take him far beyond the Little Arkansaw, to some point about the heads of Turkey cr., N. of McPherson. Moreover, he would never have seen the other party making down the Arkansaw. Once more, the change I have made in reading the text is required by what follows. He can be brought in "30" miles *S.* 60° E. to the Little Arkansaw somewhere about the mouth of Turkey creek, in Harvey Co. Observe that to-morrow's course, S. 65° E., is practically in the same direction he travels to-day.

[55] Of the Little Arkansaw, running S.; these are the Emma creeks and Sand creek, the latter flowing through Newton, Harvey Co.

[56] Walnut creek—not to be confounded with the other of the same name which joins the Arkansaw near Great Bend. This Walnut creek falls into the Arkansaw near the border of Oklahoma, being the one called White river by Fowler on Oct. 9 (p. 16), one of whose branches is still known as Whitewater. Camp is on one of these, near the boundary between Harvey and Butler counties. We now realize what a roundabout route Fowler is taking from the great bend of the Arkansaw to Fort Osage on the Missouri, being far S. of the regular "Santa Fé Trail" that was soon to become established.

—the Pirarie this day is leavel and Rich the land Black mixed With lime Stone—the grass So tall that In [it] is Hard on the Horses to Brake it down—no more Buffelow to be Seen I beleve We Have left them all be Hind and Will be Hard Run for meat—
maid 20 miles South 65 East

Sunday 23rd June 1822

Rained Hard last night—

We Sot out about 9 oclock Crosing three Branches[87] Runing to the South all Well timbered Rich lime Stone land a little Roleing. We Camped on the third Branch—no game—

Maid 20 miles N° 80 East

Rained all night—

monday 24 June 1822

We Sot out Early and it Soon began to Rain We maid Six miles Crossing two Branches[88] and Camped on the Second Which is Well timbered With Walnut Buckiey Hickory oak and Elm. the land of the

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[87] Of the same Walnut creek, on a course nearly E., in Butler Co.

[88] Of the same Walnut creek—the second branch above said being the main source of this stream, interlocking with a source of the south fork of Cottonwood river, nearly on the line between Butler and Chase counties. Camp about the place called Sycamore Springs, in Butler Co.

Richest kind—lime Stone In all Banks but the leave [level] land Clar of Stone—

6 miles north 65 East

Rained all night

tusday 25th June 1822

Set out about 10 oclock up the Branch and out at the Head of it and over a low deviding Ridge and fell on the Head Watters of the virdegree,[59] the land is more Roleing the Hills Higher but Rich We Camped on a Branch Runing nearly West With Some timber Peno killed one deer

maid 15 miles no 50 East

Wensday 26th June 1822

We Sot out Early pasing over a Rich Roleing Pirarie to a Crick[60] With Some timber—taylor killed two deer—We maid 8 miles no 15 East It Rains Heavely—

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[59] Not quite yet—Fowler has still to pass the heads of the south fork of the Cottonwood, which he mistakes for those of the Verdigris. No head of the Verdigris flows anything like west, as he says that branch does on which he camps. All his indications set camp unmistakably at or near Thurman, Chase Co., on that branch of Thurman creek which runs westerly. This creek is joined at Matfield Green by two others, the three together composing the south fork of the Cottonwood, running N. This is a queer place to find a man on his way from Great Bend to Kansas City—but here he is!

[60] Head of Verdigris river, in Chase Co., at the distance and in the direction said from Thurman.

thorsday 27th June 1822

Set out Early Crossing five Cricks[61] all Runing South East Some timber on all of them one twenty yds Wide the Cuntry as ushal Rich and Roleing—Robert Fowler and Ward Each killed one deer—
maid 15 miles N 25 East

Friday 28th June 1822

Set out Early Crossing a Crick at Six miles Runing South and at 12 miles Cam to grand River or the Six Bull [the Neosho,[62] running] South East Went up it about one mile Crossed over and Camped on a Crick near the mouth this Crick Puts In on the north Side Heare Is one of the Best trakes [tracts] of land for a settlement I Have Seen the land is Rich and leavel Plenty of timber on the Crick as Well as all a long the River—taylor killed one Elk—Which Was Braught to Camp We maid 12 miles no 40 East

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[61] The Verdigris itself and four of its collateral heads, named Camp, Fawn, Rock, and Moon. Fowler's trail here crosses that of Pike, who was camped on one of these creeks Sept. 10, 1806. For the remarkable fan-shaped leash of streamlets which compose the headwaters of the Verdigris, see Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 400. Camp in vicinity of Olpe, Lyon Co.

[62] The Neosho is struck at a point between Neosho Rapids and the mouth of the Cottonwood, some 8 m. a little S. of E. from Emporia, seat of Lyon Co.

### Satterday 29th June 1822

Set out Early and at ten miles Crosed a Crick[63] 50 yds Wide part of the Racuon fork of the osage River the Corse South East—at 14 miles Crosed a Branch of the Same Crick—and at 22 miles Camped Without Wood—Had no fier—the first 10 miles N 15 E the last 12 miles N 65 E the Bottoms Has Some timber the land all Rich Rained Heavily all night With thonder and lightning—

22 miles the first 10 N 15 E then 12 N 65 E

### Sunday 30th June 1822

last night's Rain Wett all our Bagage as Well as the bever furr the morning Clear We dry all our things and move on about 10 oclock—at 10 miles Crossed a Crick[64] and at Sixteen miles Crosed the osage River[65] Wheare We left one Hors He Coud not Rais up the Bank Which Was High and mudey—We moved out of the timber and Slept on a High point to avoid the the musketoes Ward killed one young Elk We Have Seen many Elk In the two last days Rained Heavily all night

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[63] Marais des Cygnes creek, continuation of Marais des Cygnes river, as the main course of the Osage river in Kansas is still called, by curious survival of the pure French phrase. This stream is struck in the vicinity of Reading, Lyon Co., nearly on the border of Osage Co.; whence Fowler proceeds about E. N. E. across Cherry creek, to camp on the divide between Marais des Cygnes creek and its Salt creek branch—somewhere between Olivet and Osage City, seat of Osage Co.

[64] Salt creek, crossed in the vicinity of Lyndon, seat of Osage Co.

[65] Dragoon creek of present nomenclature, considered by Fowler as the main Osage river. It is a large stream, about the size of the Marais des Cygnes itself, separated from the latter

maid 16 miles N 65 E

monday 1st July 1822

the last night Raised the Cricks So that We Have to leave the Waggon [road] We fell into two days back Which Road Was maid by Becknal and His party on their Way to the Spanish Settlement—We Hear took up a low Ridge betwen the Branches and over a low Ridge Eight miles to a large Crick[66] So Raised With

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by Salt creek—all three of these coming together within a mile or two of each other, in the immediate vicinity of Quenemo, Osage Co., close to the border of Franklin Co. For Dragoon cr., see Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 520. Fowler is now nearing what was soon to become the regular Santa Fé caravan route from Independence, Mo., to the great bend of the Arkansaw—after having needlessly made a great bend of his own southward from that direct line of travel.

[66] Appanoose creek, a branch of the Marais des Cygnes which falls in near Ottawa, seat of Franklin Co., into which Fowler has passed from Osage Co.

"In 1812 a Captain Becknell, who had been on a trading expedition to the country of the Comanches in the summer of 1811, and had done remarkably well, determined the next season to change his objective point to Santa Fé," says Inman, p. 38. When at or near the Caches on the Arkansaw, he left that stream and took his party across country on the Cimarron or dry route;

the last night Rain that the loads on the Horses Will git Wett If We drive them threw But the men Waid over and Carry the Pack on their Heads—the Watter Swims the Horses—Heare is a large Bodey of timber along this Crick and land of the Best qualety for the Hole Cuntry is fit for Cultevation We Went Six miles In the Evening Crossing two Crick [67] all the Watters Runs South East maid 14 miles N 20 E the timber Increses as We aproch the mesurey [Missouri]

tusday 2nd July 1822

a Heavey thonder Storm Came on in the night and Rained Hard till Sun Rise We then Sot out and Cros-

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but they were obliged to return, after suffering horribly from thirst, and follow up the Arkansaw route to Taos.

"The virtual commencement of the Santa Fé trade dates from 1822"; and in 1824 was made the first attempt to introduce wagons, etc., says Inman, p. 51. According to Gregg, a better authority, both pack animals and wagons were used 1822-25, but after that wagons only. According to Fowler's passage above, we see that Becknell had taken wagons in 1822 if not earlier; and thus the party to which Col. Marmaduke was attached, and which reached Santa Fé with wagons in 1824, was not the first to pass through Kansas on wheels.

[67] One of these is Eight Mile creek, next branch of the Marais des Cygnes, falling in near the mouth of the Appanoose, at Ottawa. As "all the Watters runs South East," we know that Fowler is still on the Osage watershed, and I am inclined to set his camp on one of the heads of Ottawa creek, some 6 m. W. of Baldwin City, Douglas Co., perhaps not far from Willow Springs camp of the traders; for which see Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 519.

ing Several Small Branches[88] much Raised With last nights Rain maid five miles and Stoped to dry our Bagage—Heare Some Hunters Sot out to kitt meet [kill meat] Robert Fowler and Taylor Set out In frunt to meet at the Crick a Head of Which We Cold See the timber—We Sot out In the Evening—the gide Chaing His Corse did not meet the Hunters We maid 12 miles and Slept on the devideing Ridge[89] betwen the oasage [Osage] and Kensa or Caw [Kansas] Rivers—the Hunters did not Come In—We See on our left Hand a large Bodey of timber Soposed to be on the Caw River the Pirarie is a little Roleing and of the Richest kind of lime Stone land We maid 17 miles N 75 East

thorsday [Wednesday] 3rd July 1822

We Sot out Early and like a Ship With out a Rudder We Steerd from South East to north East—I Sopose the gide Was lost or did not as He Had toled us kno Wheare He Was—In this [way] We maid twelve miles and Stoped for noon for We Have not much to Eat tho We See many deer and Some Elk—the two Hunters not Come up yet—We moved on In the Evening and Soon fell on the Waggon Road We had left at the osage River this We followed ten miles and Camped on a Crick [70] Runing north West—and We Sopose to the Caw River—Ward killed a fatt Elk this Evening the Hunters not up—

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[88] Heads of the Ottawa creek last said, especially of its East fork. Fowler passes Baldwin City to camp on the divide between the Osage and the Kansan waters.

[89] Position not exactly determinable, somewhere between Baldwin City and Edgerton, in the vicinity of Black Jack: see Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 519. The divide is here between heads of Big Bull creek, tributary to the Osage, on the S., and heads of Captain creek, a branch of Kansas river, on the N.—Captain creek being the first branch from the S. below the mouth of Wakarusa creek, which latter falls into the Kansas at Eudora. From present camp Fowler passes into the watershed of the Kansas river.

We maid 22 miles N 30 East
Rich leavel land—

thorsday 4th July 1822

We Set out Early to follow the Waggon Road but Heare the Pirarie Has Been Burned In the Spring and the grass So gron up So that We Cannot find it—and after Winding about for about two Hours Steered N 45 East Six miles and fell on a Road Runing nearly East and West—along Which We took [to] the East Eand Wheare We found the Waggon tracks—a large Bodey of timber on our left and is Shorly the mesurey or the Caw River and at about

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[70] Cedar creek, a branch of Kansas river, as Fowler supposed. Camp on it in the vicinity of Olathe, Johnson Co., Kas. See Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 510. The direct distance is much less than "22" m.; but the party wandered about all the morning.

Six miles Stoped for dinner—While Heare the lost men Came up the Ware much Woren down there feet Sore and mogersons Woren out—We Went ten miles In the Evening along the Road Crossing one Crick [71] Which Runs north—

the large Bodey of timber Still Continus on our left the general Corse of this Road is north Eighty East—

Friday 5th July 1822

Sot out Early and at five miles Crossing a large Crick [72] 50 yds Wide Runs north the Bottoms and Hill Sides are Well Covered With timber—We Heare Went up a High Steep Hill over Some Rocks and Continu over High Roleing ground partly Covered With timber and Brush for about four miles then six miles over Roling Pirarie to a Crick [73] Wheare We Stoped for dinner there Is plenty of timber Heare and the gide tells us that He now knos Wheare We are and that it is about ten miles to fort osage We Sot out In the Evening and at three miles Came to a deep Crick [74] Wheare the men Had to Carry the Bagage all over on their Heads and drove the Horses threw—the Watter Was So deep that it Was over the mens Sholders and none but the tall ones Cold Carry the Packs—We then Set out for the fort [75] Wheare We arived about ten oClock at night but our Company Was much Scattered Haveing Sent mr Roy and Battes forward from the Crick to prepair Supper at the fort fore the Party—on our arivel We Called for them but the Ware not to be found nor Cold We find any purson for Some time but a negro man—and thonder gust Comeing—He Shewed [us] In to mr Sibleys Porch Wheare We Spent the Ballence of the night—

---

[71] Turkey creek or a branch of it; this falls into the Kansas river within present limits of Kansas City, Mo. Camp on or near the Kansas-Missouri line, 5 m. from where the road then crossed Big Blue river.

[72] Big Blue river, falling into the Missouri between Kansas City and Independence, Jackson Co., Mo. See Lewis and Clark, ed. of 1893, p. 32, and Pike, ed. of 1895, p. 519. Fowler has just passed from "the Indian Territory" into "the States"—that is, from Kansas into Missouri.

[73] One of several between Big and Little Blue rivers, at or near Independence, Mo.

Satterday 6th July 1822

Early In the morning We found mr Boggs the asistant Factor Who Shewed us Into an Enty [empty] House In the garison—to Which We moved our

---

[74] Little Blue river, the Hay Cabin creek of Lewis and Clark. See ed. of 1893, p. 31.

[75] At Fort point, later called Sibley, on the Missouri, between Independence and Lexington, Mo. Fort Osage was built in Sept., 1808, was sometimes called Fort Clark, and in Fowler's time was still an extreme frontier establishment. See Lewis and Clark, ed. of 1893, p. 30.

Bagage. Exspecting to Remain there till Some provetions Cold be Precured—

the garreson at this time Was Commanded by one officer of the united States armey—Haveing two men under His Command Both of them Haveing disarted a few days ago and Carryed off all His amenetion—now It appeers that mr Boggs Had not advised Him of our Removel Into the garreson nor did We Sopose from the Shattered Setuation of Every thing We See—that any Command of men or officer Was there But Whin He looked up In the morning and Seeing our men and Bagage He Said to mr Boggs that He did not like to See the gareson taken In that kind of Stile—but on Receeving that Information from mr Boggs and the officer not Calling on us We that [thought] Proper not to be longer In His Way and moved about two Hunderd yds to a Spring and Camped Wheare after Some Diffequalty We Precured Some Previtions

It may Heare Be Remarked that. We Ware treeted Heare With more Coolness than amongest any Indeans or Spanierds We meet With But We feel greatful to mr Boggs for His Polightness—He in the morning Precure for us a Small Beef—and mr Sibley Sent us Some flour and Bacon—Which With Corn meel and Bacon We Purchased from one of the Citisons We maid out Prete Well—for two days to Rest and Purchased two Conus [canoes] With a platform and Shiped all our Baggage With our Selves leaveing four men to Bring on the Enty Horses to Cortsand Ca [?]—and We proceded to St lewis—Wheare I Remained two days and then took a pasage In the Steem Boat Calhoon to lewisvill and from that In a Small Steem Boat to Cincinati—and got Home[76] on the 27th day of July 1822—haveing [been] gon thirteen months and thirteen days

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[76] Covington, Kenton Co., Ky., on the Ohio opp. Cincinnati.

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